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ABSTRACT

This manual presents a course designed for persons who have direct contact with youth, on an individual or group basis, in a service capacity. The intent of the course is to train youth workers to develop a basic framework for understanding adolescent development, acquire intervention and decision-making skills, and facilitate the growth of adolescents, focusing on basic concepts in order to increase understanding of adolescents, personal perspectives on youth, and individual self-awareness. The materials, presented in modular format, address the following areas of concern: (1) themes of adolescence, (2) labeling and stereotyping of adolescents, (3) personal attitudes toward youth, (4) decision-making skills, and (5) personal learning plans and assessment records. A resource manual of articles dealing with adolescence and a bibliography are also provided. (Author/HLM)

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Adolescence: Intervention Strategies

Participant Manual

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Purpose

This course provides participants with a basic understanding of adolescent development (ages 12-18), and with the skills and knowledge necessary, from an *interpersonal standpoint*, to deliver high quality services when working with youth. This course does not include information about specific types of youth programs or about developing a broad agency approach to youth.

The course is basic to individuals wishing to increase their understanding of adolescents, their perspective on youth, and their own self-awareness. This is a prerequisite to developing youth programs.

Audience

This course is intended for persons who have *direct* contact with youth on an individual or group basis in a service capacity, for example, school personnel, scout leaders, community-based program staff, church youth workers, alternative program, outreach, criminal justice, and mental health workers.

The course is *not* for administrators, community organizers, or program planners, unless these persons wish to explore the content areas of the course.

Course Goals

The course is intended to train youth workers to—

- develop a basic framework for understanding adolescence, including its developmental tasks and themes;
- develop a perspective on adolescents that encompasses an expanded group of behaviors in the "normative" ranges while respecting the uniqueness of each individual;
- make intervention decisions that are responsive to the developmental tasks of adolescence and that integrate relevant biological, psychological, and sociological influences;
- understand the impact of labeling and stereotyping on interacting with youth;
- increase self-awareness and appreciate the impact of one's own adolescent experience, values, and attitudes when working with youth;
- develop a conscious process and acquire increased skills in making intervention decisions with adolescents;
- conceptualize prevention and intervention issues in terms of facilitating the growth and development of the whole person as opposed to responding only to "problems" such as drug abuse.

Content

- *Themes of Adolescence*: biological, psychological, sociological influences; perspectives on developmental tasks; the behavioral expression of these themes
- *Self-Understanding*: exploration of the importance of the values and experiences of the youth worker on the relationship, including stereotyping and labeling
- *Prototype of Decision Making*: necessary steps for making intervention decisions
- *Case Studies*: examples of "real" cases and discussion of alternative ways to approach working with the youth described; personal assessment of specific areas for further study or training to increase skills in working with youth

(Continued on inside back cover)

ADOLESCENCE: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Participant's Manual

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The *Adolescence: Intervention Strategies* course was created as a result of a decision to redo the *Making a Difference with Youth* course developed in 1974. This decision marked an effort to substantially strengthen the courses pertaining to prevention developed by the National Drug Abuse Center for Training and Resource Development.

Without the expertise represented by the course development team—Maria Le Clere, Kathy Quaranta, and Renee Spring—the *Adolescence: Intervention Strategies* course would not exist. These persons were very sensitive to the issues and contributed an impressive body of skills in the fields of prevention, education, treatment, and training. They represented a range of involvement in school-based programming (the Spark program), rural programs, and community-based programs (including the U.S.O.E. training network).

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Thanks to all of you.

Beth Jacobs Gillispie
Course Development Manager

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ADOLESCENCE: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Purpose

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- *Prototype of Decision Making*: necessary steps for making intervention decisions
- *Case Studies*: examples of "real" cases and discussion of alternative ways to approach working with the youth described; personal assessment of specific areas for further study or training to increase skills in working with youth

Training Objectives

By the end of the course, each participant will be able to—

- define adolescence, according to personal understanding of the term as well as acceptable components of the course definition;
- identify at least four theorists described in the course and at least one contribution to the study of adolescence made by each;
- list at least four of Havighurst's ten developmental tasks;
- describe a youth program as it relates to at least one of the four themes of adolescence discussed in the course;
- define labeling and stereotyping;
- demonstrate self-awareness by listing at least three personal values and at least five personal stereotypes that affect one's relationships with youth;
- describe each of the elements of the prototype decision-making model discussed in the course;
- demonstrate understanding and integration of each of the course modules by assessing a case study presented by the trainer and by preparing and analyzing a personal case study based upon a recent work experience;
- develop a personal learning plan delineating at least one area in which further skill development is desired and at least two new resources for working with youth.

Trainer Qualifications

As a group, the AIS training team should reflect the following characteristics. Each member need not have all characteristics, but all members should have those characteristics that are marked by the asterisk. Trainer should have—

- *at least two years of experience in group dynamics and task-oriented training;
- *a personal investment in helping youth workers improve their skills and self understanding;
- experience working with youth in prevention or mental health settings, and sensitivity to current issues in working with youth;
- knowledge of developmental theory and adolescent development;
- the ability to conduct an assessment of a training population, and design and conduct an original three-hour module appropriate to the needs of that population.

Methodology

The course involves small-group and individual exercises, lectures and discussion, and case studies.

Materials

Trainer's Manual

Participant's Manual, including Personal Course Record and Resources

Film: "Everybody Rides the Carousel"

Scheduling

The course may be delivered in five consecutive days or module by module over an extended period of time. The course consists of eight modules. Modules I, II, III, IV, VII, and VIII are each approximately three and a half hours in length. Modules V and VI are each approximately seven hours in length.

ADOLESCENCE: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

	8:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.		1:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.
DAY 1	COURSE INTRODUCTION DEFINING ADOLESCENCE (MODULE I)	L	THEMES OF ADOLESCENCE (MODULE II)
DAY 2	STEREOTYPING AND LABELING OF ADOLESCENTS (MODULE III)	U	SELF-UNDERSTANDING (MODULE IV)
DAY 3	ANALYTICAL SKILLS AND... (MODULE V)	N	DECISION-MAKING (MODULE V cont'd)
DAY 4	CASE STUDIES (MODULE VI)	C	CASE STUDIES (MODULE VI cont'd)
DAY 5	SPECIAL TOPIC(S) (MODULE VII)	H	PERSONAL LEARNING PLAN CLOSURE (MODULE VIII)

HOW TO USE YOUR PERSONAL COURSE RECORD

The Personal Course Record is like a structured diary. It is designed as a way for you to collect your impressions and your ideas, and to document your feelings as you progress through the course. Many of us have been through training sessions and then returned to the work setting or home saying, "I wish I had written down that point," or "I can't remember exactly how I felt then, but I know something important happened." Notes are scattered everywhere and it's hard to reconstruct the learning that occurred. This Personal Course Record is an organized way for you to avoid these frustrations.

For each course module, the Personal Course Record provides a structure for taking lecture notes, documenting your impressions from exercises that occur in the module, and summarizing your learning and insights at the end of the module.

The Personal Course Record belongs to you and you alone. It will not be collected. You may choose to share certain parts of it with your fellow participants, but you are not required to do this. We hope that the Personal Course Record will be useful to you during the course as a way to structure and identify the impact of your experiences upon you at that time.

The Personal Course Record may also be used as a continuing diary after the course is over. If in your work you find that certain experiences are strikingly important in terms of your own understanding of yourself, your colleagues, or your clients, the Personal Course Record may be continued as a history of your impressions in your work with youth. We feel that this type of record is extremely useful because self-understanding on the part of the worker is so essential to quality relationships with youth.

ADOLESCENCE: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

PERSONAL

COURSE

RECORD

Name ______________________________

Date ______________________________

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MODULE I

COURSE INTRODUCTION

MODULE I: COURSE INTRODUCTION

PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this module is to present the course description, including goals, content, and methodology to provide a forum for the sharing of participant expectations and learning needs, to set a climate that begins the process of building an effective learning environment, and to begin exploring the meaning of adolescence.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to—

- state at least one reason for attending the course and at least one desired work related outcome of attendance;
- identify whether personal learning goals and the stated goals of the course coincide;
- write a personal definition for "adolescence";
- identify at least three components of the definition of adolescence as used in the course.

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PERSONAL GOALS AND STRENGTHS

I am here attending this course because—

The work-related area in which I would most like to improve my skills is—

The work-related area in which I am strongest is—

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ADOLESCENCE IS. . .

Personal definition or meaning:

Other definitions or meanings:

Personal definition revised:

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FILM

EVERYBODY RIDES THE CAROUSEL: An animated film depicting 3 of the 8 stages of life according to Erik H. Erickson:

STAGE 4 — Industry vs Inferiority: Competence
(School age, 6 - 11 years)

STAGE 5 — Identity vs Role Diffusion: Fidelity
(Ages 12 - 18)

STAGE 6 — Intimacy vs Isolation: Love
(Young Adulthood)

For more information, please refer to the Erickson article in the resource manual.

IMPRESSIONS / FEELINGS / IDEAS:

PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE I

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

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(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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ADOLESCENCE: SOME OBSERVATIONS

1. Adolescence can be defined as the period between pubescence and physical maturity, but in considering personality development we are concerned with the transition from childhood, initiated by the prepubertal spurt of growth impelled by the hormonal changes of puberty, to the attainment of adult prerogatives, responsibilities, and self-sufficiency. (Lidz, 1968)

2. Adolescence can be considered in many different ways and in many perspectives. It is different at different times, in different cultures and in different milieus. (Osterrieth, 1969)

3. Adolescence is a dynamic phase in the continuum of life in which profound changes take place in physical, physiological, and biochemical as well as personality development so that the child is transformed into a sexually "attractive" adult capable of reproducing. (Schonfeld, 1969)

4. The very custom of using a single term for as wide a stretch of development (adolescence) as we do, reaching from "latency" into young adulthood, leads to a most misleading and dangerous abbreviation. Usually, although we are well aware of this risk, we forget about it in the course of a discussion and then end up not talking about the same people at all. . . . There seems to be no question that the difference between the young adolescent at the onset of his puberty and the older adolescent blurring into the picture of the young adult is enormous. (Redl, 1969)

5. While an adolescent remains inconsistent and unpredictable in his behavior, he may suffer but he does not seem to me to be in need of treatment. I think that he should be given time and scope to work out his own solution. Rather, it may be his parents who need help and guidance so as to be able to bear with him. There are few situations in life that are more difficult to cope with than the adolescent son or daughter during the attempt to liberate himself. (Anna Freud, 1958)

6. Often a technical term is invented in order to create a social condition and a social fact; such has been true with respect to the term "adolescence." The idea of adolescence as an intermediary period in life starting at puberty and extending to some period in the life cycle unmarked by any conspicuous physical change but socially defined as "manhood" or "womanhood" is the product of modern times. (Bakan, 1971)

7. Perhaps the difficulty in using the phrase "adolescent period" is the likelihood of a too rigid interpretation of what the term represents: it tends to give the impression of a stable entity—a fixed and unchanging situation through which all individuals must pass and to which they must adapt on the same terms. In the midst of the existing confusion, we might take Lindgren and Byrne's advice and find it easier to say what an adolescent "is not" than what he is; concur with Kuhlen that the connotations of the term "adolescence" are so numerous and inconsistent among themselves and with the facts that if persons of this age are to be understood we should declare a moratorium on the word "adolescence" for a decade or two; or solve the conflict once and for all by viewing adolescence as a process rather than a period: a process of achieving the attitudes and beliefs needed for effective participation in society. (Paul A. Clarke, 1968)

8. . . .There are societies, and sections of our own society, in which adolescence is not a time of "sturm and drang" (storm and stress), so that although all young people go through the physical changes of adolescence, only those in particular cultural settings show the behavior we take to be characteristics of this age. Furthermore, careful observation shows that the psychological crisis of adolescence does not ordinarily begin until a year or more after the period of most rapid physical change; for some individuals there seems to be virtually no relation between physical changes and typically adolescent behavior. For these reasons we are obliged to view adolescence as a cultural phenomenon derived from the way people in our society (and similar societies) interpret the fact of physical maturing. Adults and the peer group both define roles for the adolescent to play, and in assuming these roles he takes on his adolescent identity. (Stone and Church, 1968)

9. In a discussion of adolescence as a period in human growth, perhaps the first point to establish is the difference between adolescence and puberty. The latter refers to the relatively brief period of physiological change, during which the sexual organs become mature. Puberty supplies the basis for adolescence but is by no means synonymous with it. The two periods begin at much the same time, but adolescence lasts for about eight years and involves not only the pubertal changes in the body but also developments in intellectual capacities, interests, attitudes, and adjustments. (Cole and Hall, 1970)

10. The biological changes at puberty undo a balance between ego and id which has, in most cases, been maintained in the latency period, roughly between six and twelve years of age. As the instincts gain in vigor, the rather fine articulation between drives and the control processes is endangered. The two sentences above sum up, however grossly, some of the basic elements in the psychoanalytic approach to adolescence. (Douvan and Adelson, 1966)

11. Of books about the adolescent there is no end; of facts about the adolescent there is still much need. (Dimock, 1937)

12. It is possible that adolescence may in some senses be effectively defined by the progress which is made in the relationship between the young person and his parents. Such a relationship is a dynamic, continually changing one, and the adjustments that each makes to accommodate the changes will play a critical part in determining the adolescent's development. (J. D Coleman, 1974)

13. Adolescence is a time of life when the individual and his society must come to terms. The adolescent becomes mature by asserting himself as a distinct human being, and his sense of competence and selfhood depends upon the ways in which he responds to obligations and assimilates earlier experiences. (Grinder, 1973)

14. The existence of the adolescent period in our culture is due primarily to the length of the educational process. This emphasis upon the extensive education of every child still does not exist in any other country in the world. Expanding public education to include four years of high school has postponed the assumption of adult roles for every young person in America today. . . .quite a bit of seasoning and numerous ingredients make significant contributions to the recipe which results in the virtual potpourri called adolescence in America today. (Ralston and Thomas, 1974)

15. We know something of adolescents: We know the tasks of the stage: we have to learn the specifics from them as to time and place and practice. They are neither all good, pure, angelic, and loving either to us or to themselves. But neither are they as revolted and revolting as some would have us see them. If we are to expect them to see us as individuals we must do the same with them. The stereotype is easy to derive, safer to deal with than the individual who can affect and move us to love or hate. (Rae-Grant, 1972)

16. Derek Miller described early and middle and late adolescence and said that the three phases were distinguishable from each other. . . .early adolescence is characterized by the plea for help from parents and other authorities in an attempt to control the strange urges and rumblings which are going on inside the early adolescent who, though well adapted to childhood, is as yet quite unadapted to the changes in himself which are going on. Middle adolescence is characterized by the plea to be left alone and to develop in his or her own way. Late adolescence is characterized by considerable rivalry with parents. (A. Hyatt-Williams, 1975)

17. An adolescent is the product of the interaction of his biological heritage and the culture in which he lives. Adolescence, as it is generally used, is a descriptive term for the period during which an emotionally immature individual in his teens approaches the culmination of his physical and mental growth. Although potentially an adult, he still plays the role of an inexperienced child bound and restricted by the culture in which he lives. In its nonphysical aspects adolescence is culturally determined and represents a period of difficult adjustment if the environment is a restrictive one. In a nonrestrictive environment the adolescent's problems tend to be primarily those of gaining and applying experience.

    In Western culture there are five points of reference from which to view adolescent growth and development:

    1. Adolescence is a time of seeking status as an individual.
    2. It is a time when group relations become of major importance.
    3. It is a time of physical development and growth.
    4. It is a time of intellectual expansion, development, and academic experience.
    5. It is a time of development and evaluation of values.

    Adolescence is viewed as a period of adjustment to cultural demands; and of expectations as to commonalities of behavior and development, within which individual differences may also be expected. (J. Horrocks, 1951)

18. "It's the pits." (13-year-old white male, 1977)

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MODULE II

THEMES OF ADOLESCENCE

MODULE II: THEMES OF ADOLESCENCE

PERSPECTIVE

The focus of this module is twofold. First, it is designed to provide a brief overview of the biological, sociological, and psychological influences on adolescents and of the developmental tasks and themes of adolescence. Second, this understanding is applied to examining the ways in which participants and their programs respond (or do not respond) to these themes.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to—

- describe at least two sociological, biological, and psychological influences on adolescents;
- describe and provide one example of at least four of Havighurst's ten developmental tasks;
- list at least one behavioral expression for each of the four themes of adolescence;
- list at least one personal and one programmatic response to the four themes of adolescence.

NOTES:

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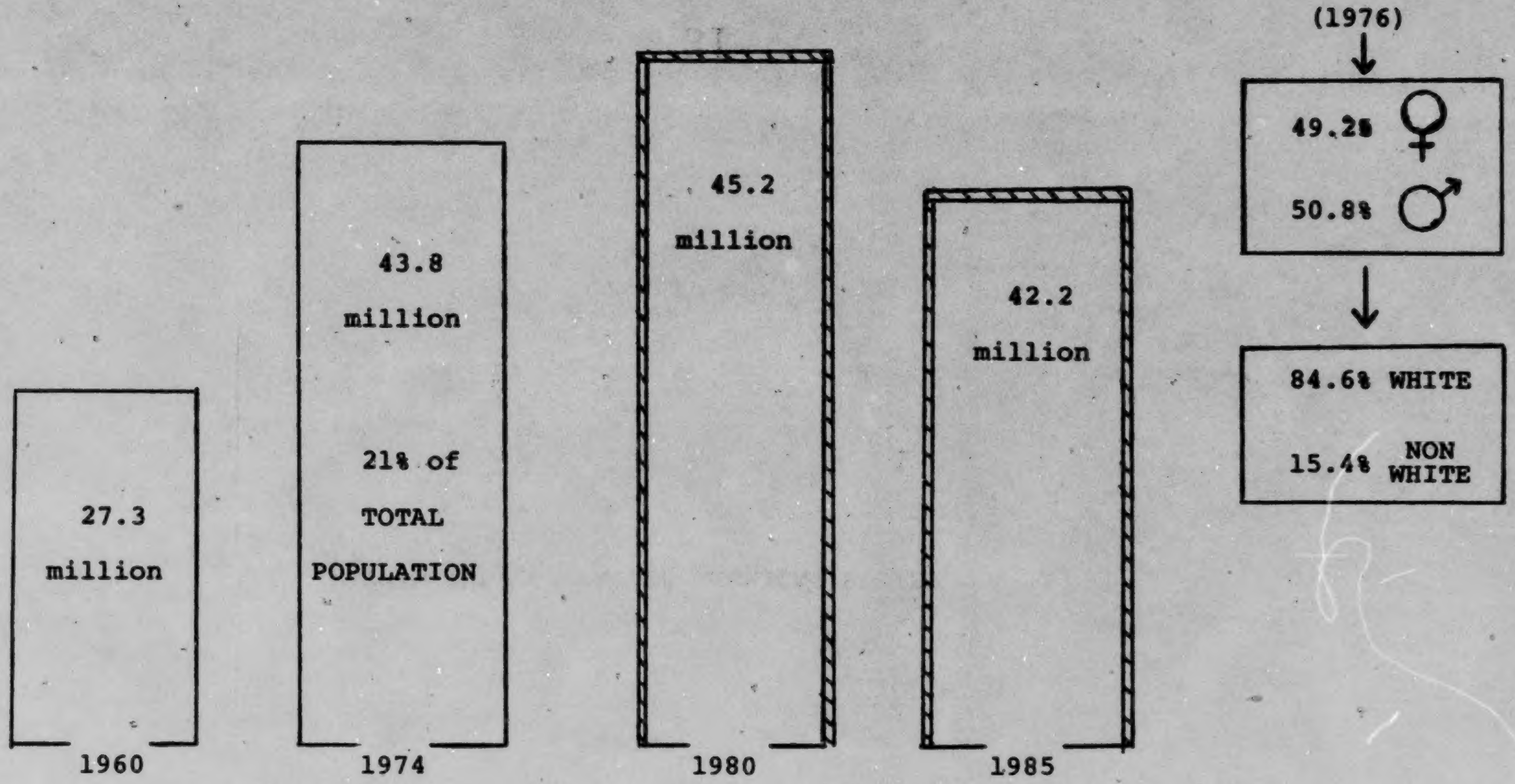
STATISTICS ABOUT YOUTH

WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

YOUTH POPULATION



Age
14-17 = 16.9 million
18-21 = 16.1 million
22-24 = 10.8 million

(Youth Aged 14-24--According to the U. S. Bureau of Census Characteristics of American Youth: 1974)

PERSPECTIVE: TOTAL U. S. POPULATION = 215.1 MILLION

(has risen by 9.4% in past decade)

GEOGRAPHY

WHERE?

2/3 Youth live in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) including 30% residents of central cities

[75% black youth and 82% Spanish youth residents of metropolitan areas]

MOBILITY?

50% of 20 - 21 year olds and

70% of 22 - 24 year olds moved between March 1970 and March 1974

(Ages 14 - 24
U. S. Bureau of Census)

EDUCATION

93%	14 - 17 year olds	ENROLLED IN SCHOOL
43%	18 - 19 year olds	

1973

in 1975 - 3/4 of high school seniors planned to attend college or university

(49% "definitely")

1/3 of white youth 18 - 21 years old	ENROLLED IN COLLEGE IN 1973
1/5 of black youth 18 - 21 years old	

U. S. Bureau of Census

(Series P-23 No. 51) Characteristics of American Youth
and
(Series P-20 No.299) College Plans of High School Seniors

FAMILY

90% of all youth lived in families in 1974

(either their own or their parents)

(U. S. Bureau of Census

Average cost to raise one child from birth to age 17: $34,600.

Middle-income budget:

$13,530	Food
4,480	Clothes
2,260	Medical
15,560	Housing
12,320	Recreation, Transportation, etc.
$48,150	

(U. S. News and World Report
September 6, 1976, p. 46)

	MALE	FEMALE
Unmarried Persons Ages 18 - 24	66% - White	49% - White
	75% - Black	60% - Black

(U. S. Bureau of Census)

EMPLOYMENT

16 - 21 year old persons comprise 14% of all civilian workers.

14 - 21 year old persons earn 5% of all income in the U. S.

Approximately 50% of 16- 21 year olds are working

(including babysitting, cutting lawns, etc)

♂ laborers, equipment operators (blue collar: 56%)
service workers (18%)

♀ clerical (40%) and service, such as waitresses,
maids (32%)

Average income of persons 14 - 21 years of age - $ 2,138 (in 1976)

Median income of families with a head under 25 years of age and a year-round full-time job $10,155 (in 1973)

(U. S. Bureau of Census)

UNEMPLOYED: 34.1% of non-white teenagers in labor force

16.3% of white teenagers in labor force

Youth aged 16 - 19 have highest unemployment rate of any age group.

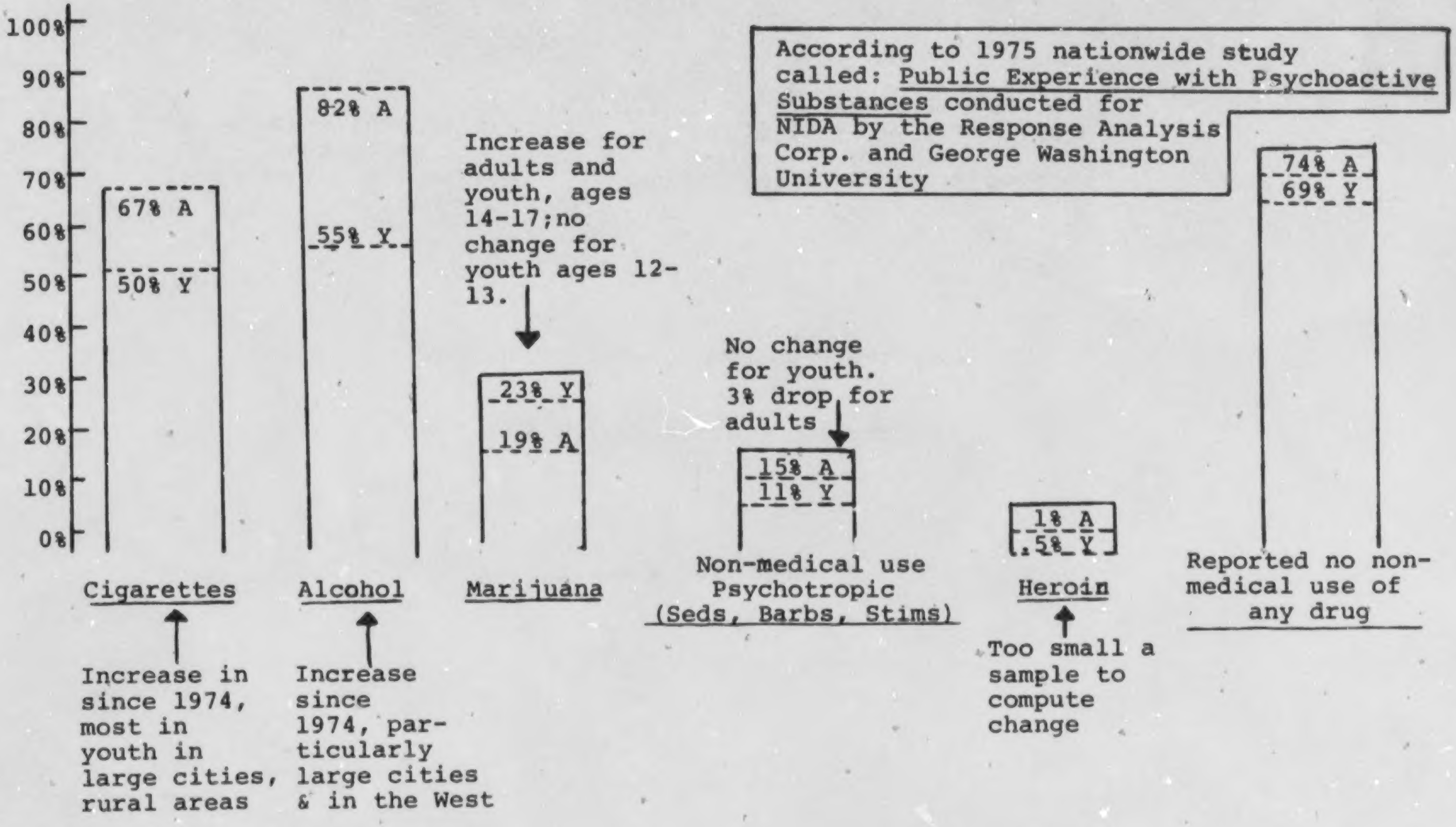
(U. S. News and World Report--
unless otherwise stated)

USE OF PSYCHOACTIVE SUBSTANCES

(YOUTH and ADULTS)

Y (Youth) = 12 - 17 years of age

A (Adult) = 18 & → years of age



According to 1975 nationwide study called: Public Experience with Psychoactive Substances conducted for NIDA by the Response Analysis Corp. and George Washington University

Cigarettes: Increase in since 1974, most in youth in large cities, rural areas

Alcohol: Increase since 1974, particularly large cities & in the West

Marijuana: Increase for adults and youth, ages 14-17; no change for youth ages 12-13.

Non-medical use Psychotropic: No change for youth. 3% drop for adults

Heroin: Too small a sample to compute change

teen and preteen PREGNANCIES

1 of 5 live births is to a teenager

1 of 3 abortions is performed on a teenager

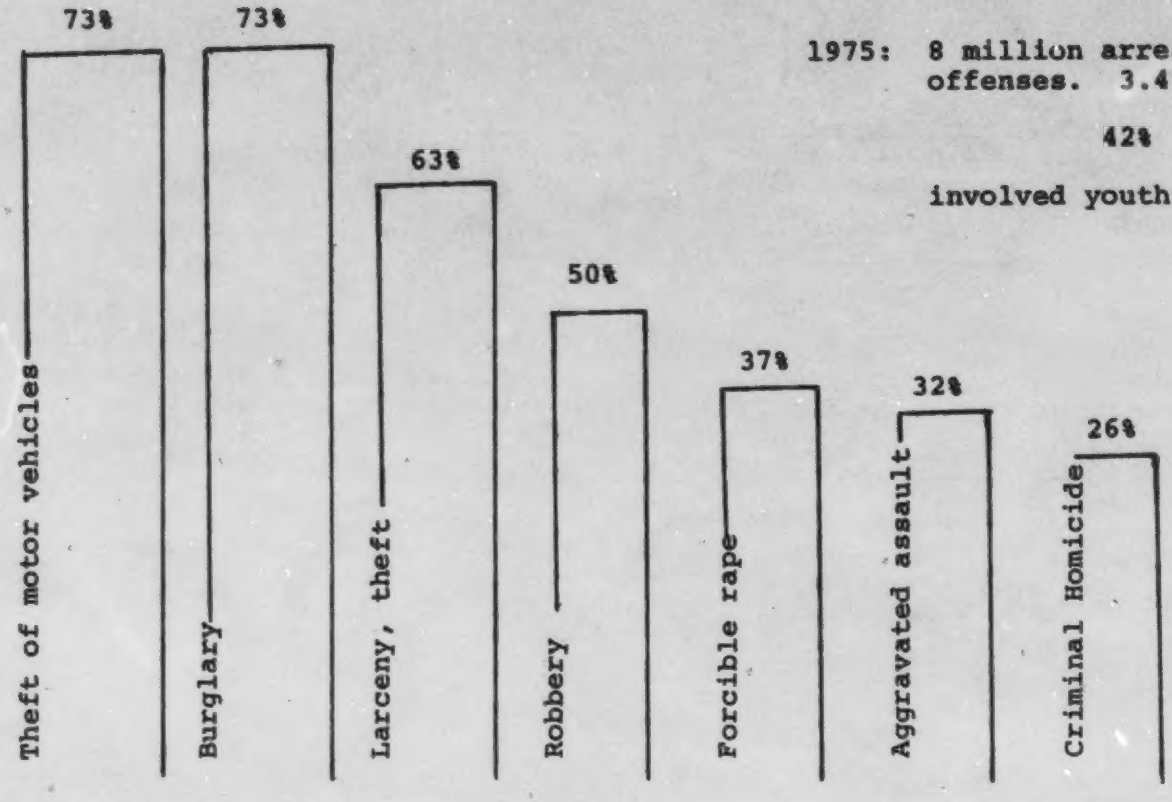
Increase in rate of teen preganacies (between 1968 - 1973)	50% among white females 13.1% among black and hispanic-named females

FASTEST PREGNANCY RATE INCREASE: 9 - 15 YEAR OLD FEMALES

(Statistics according to National Alliance concerned with School Age Parents as reported in Washington Post, March 8, 1977)

CRIME BY YOUTH

Arrests of persons under 21 as a percentage of all arrests



1975: 8 million arrests for all offenses. 3.4 million, or

42%

involved youth below age 21

Source: F. B. I. and U. S. News and World Report

ASSORTED FACTS ABOUT YOUTH

Young women were more likely to be single in 1974 than they were in 1960.

(Bureau of Census, 1974 Report)

Teenagers (mostly girls) buy approximately 50% of the shampoo sold yearly in the U. S. (About 250 million dollars worth!) And, today's teenage girls purchase about 1/4 of all cosmetics sold in stores.

(U. S. News & World Report)

Young men between the ages of 15 and 24 buy about 60% of the audio equipment sold in America.

(U. S. News & World Report)

Youth are important people. (Gillispie)

YOUR OWN STATEMENT(S) OF FACT/KNOWLEDGE:

THEMES EXERCISE

____

(Identity to be considered)

1. What does my program do, in terms of specific approaches to youth or activities, that responds to this theme?

2. What do I do in my work with youth that responds to this theme?

3. If I could create an "ideal" programmatic approach to this theme, what would I do? What types of activities would I recommend? How would youth be involved?

PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE II

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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MODULE III

STEREOTYPING AND LABELING OF ADOLESCENTS

MODULE III: STEREOTYPING AND LABELING OF ADOLESCENTS

PERSPECTIVES

The purpose of this module is to examine the process of labeling and stereotyping adolescent behavior and the impact that this process has on adolescent development. It is concerned with the way adolescents are labeled by the society and the institutions they are part of (e.g., family, school, and friends), and focuses on the problems created for adolescents who are negatively labeled by society. (One of the underlying assumptions is that the participants of this training deal with youths who have been labeled in a negative way and who may have accepted some aspect of these negative labels as part of their own self image.) The module provides an opportunity for assessing possible strategies for working with adolescents in this situation and looks at the important needs of a young person who has incorporated negative labels into his own self concept. This module also begins to examine participants' feelings about and responses to negative labels and to adolescent behaviors that fall into "negative" categories.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to—

- distinguish between a label and a stereotype;
- describe at least two kinds of negative labeling experienced by adolescents;
- cite two examples of the self-fulfilling prophecy;
- identify at least two possible outcomes for the adolescent who is labeled by family, friends and/or school;
- discuss one stragegy to use in approaching the adolescent who has accepted the concept of being no good (a bad person, a loser, etc.);
- identify three adolescent behaviors that trigger negative stereotypes for the participant (personally);
- identify one type of behavior that an adolescent may exhibit that fundamentally conflicts with the participants' personal values (i.e., his/her sense of right and wrong).

MODULE III: STEREOTYPING AND LABELING OF ADOLESCENTS

NOTES:

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DESCRIPTION OF A YOUTH

1. In the exerices you just completed, you described a youth with whom you are working. What positive and negative labels did you use to describe him or her?

2. Did you find yourself doing any unconscious labeling?

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A CASE STUDY: BETTY

Betty is 17, a high school dropout, and an unwed mother. She does not have full custody of her baby because her mother does not trust her with the child and so obtained legal custody of the baby. Betty does not live at home; she drifts from friend to friend and wants to establish a place to live so she can have her 1½-year-old child. She has been living off of friends, family, and money she picks up in odd jobs. She sometimes gets money from boyfriends.

Betty has a reputation for being tough and for fighting. She drinks a lot; when drinking with a group of kids, she often physically attacks people, boys and girls alike. She most often gets into fights if someone makes insinuations of a sexual nature about her behavior or appearance.

When not drinking, Betty is fairly quiet and withdrawn even with her peers. She does not talk at all when adults are present. She is attractive physically and has long bleached hair. She hides her face all the time by covering it with her hair. If adults are around, she refuses to look up and has her face totally obscured by her hair (which looks uncombed). She can't read or write; when she was in school she was put in a "slow learner" group at a very early age. Her parents did not care. She was a victim of severe child abuse when she was young and for quite awhile lived with foster parents (several) when her natural parents threw her out. Since she was 12, when she lived at home, she lived with her natural mother: her father had left with another woman and lives in the same town.

When she was 14 she met the father of her child. He was gentle and kind to her and she was in love with him. He was her first boyfriend. He left town without a word when she became pregnant. She has not heard from him since. Her friends at the time rejected her for being pregnant. She now has a new set of friends, a more transient group that relates primarily at parties and bars. It's unclear if she talks to anyone or has a particularly good friend. She wanders around with different people and never stays with anyone long.

She recently enrolled in a summer jobs program. She told the counselor who interviewed her that she needed money badly. She actually did not talk directly to the counselor. When the counselor would ask her a question, her friend Pat, who was with her and enrolling in the same program, would answer for her. She refused to be interviewed alone and started to walk out of the program because Jean, the counselor, asked her to stay for a few minutes without her friend.

The first activity of the jobs program was to have all the young people enrolled meet together with the staff to discuss the available jobs and the training that would be offered during the summer. Each young person was asked to describe himself/herself and talk about what job and what training might be interesting for them during the summer. Betty refused to talk. Her friends tried to help her and encourage her, but nothing seemed to work. When finally put on the spot she said in a barely audible voice, with face down and covered by her hair, "I can't do anything, I'm no good." Then she said, "Maybe you have some jobs for whores in this program." She refused to participate any more than that and would not listen or speak to anyone for the rest of the meeting.

At a party later that night she got into a fight with a girl who called her a whore and told Betty to keep away from her boyfriend.

She came back to the jobs program the next day. She spoke briefly to Jean, the counselor, saying she would accept any job that would take her because she needed money for her baby. She was pretty sure no one would employ her for anything. Jean was able to convince her to talk for awhile after the group meeting. Betty appeared to trust her and told her a bit about herself. When Jean tried to ask her about school or family issues, Betty became hostile and suspicious and reverted back to withdrawn, self-deprecating behavior. While she was talking, Jean formed a strong opinion of her as an alert and bright person, who kept most of her private thoughts and feelings to herself.

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

TRAINEE'S NOTES

Describe the following:

Central points of Betty's case:

Betty's current self-image:

Betty from the perspective of peers:

(Continued on next page.)

Betty from the perspective of institutions:

Betty's behavior:

Your own personal response:

Your reactions to the role play (if applicable):

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A CASE STUDY: BETTY

ROLE PLAY INSTRUCTIONS FOR JEAN

You are Jean, a counselor in the summer program. You are the one who has talked to Betty about her participation in the program. She did seem to trust you for a few minutes, the last time you talked. She told you a little about her current life and about how much she wanted to have her child living with her. She told you she had no place to live and no way to pay for a place. But when you tried to ask her about her family and why her mother took the baby, she got really angry and then refused to talk. She said I don't know and covered her face again with her hair. It's really tough to talk to her when she does that.

Your role in the program is to help place kids in summer jobs. Your main interest, however, is directing toward the training program those kids who might last beyond the summer. This program is connected with the local community college and will provide whatever training you and the young person decide is needed. No one has a clear picture yet of how this will work and exactly what the college resources are in terms of providing training. You have a lot of faith in the staff there, and believe that if you come up with a sensible training plan for a young person, they will do all they can to provide it. You sense it would be good for Betty to go into that type of situation, but you also know that she is strongly in need of a job and money. She would not be paid if she went into training so you have decided that that will have to wait. You will have to help her get a job first. You would like, however, to get her into the evening remedial reading program offered at the college so that she could attend even if she were working.

You have called her in to talk about the types of jobs she might be able to get. The types of jobs available are typical summer jobs—waiting on tables in a restaurant, summer camp counseling, construction, etc. You want more information about her, so you can place her into a situation where she will succeed. You also want to talk to her about the remedial reading course, which begins next week.

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

ROLE PLAY INSTRUCTIONS FOR BETTY

You are Betty. Look back over the Betty case if you want more background about Betty.

You are really unhappy. You want your baby back, you don't want to (and your mother won't let you) live at home. You are really tired of bumming around and living different places. You always get into fights with the people you live with. They are always picking on you, especially when they drink. It's fun to drink though and it is fun to roam around going places. It just gets boring. You wish you knew how to do something. You have failed at everything you have ever tried. As they told you at school when you were little, you are really slow. Once you tried a remedial reading course because the school made you do it. They knew you would fail, but they made you go anyway. The dumb teacher picked on you, telling you you didn't try enough, and made you try to read in front of the class. She knew you would be embarrassed and couldn't do it. She just wanted your friends in the class to see how dumb you were. Anyway you told her off that night that you went to her house after having a few beers. She threw you out—but so what.

Now you are in this jobs program. You have to do something. You can't go on this way, with just the money you can get from odd jobs or borrow from your friends. But who would want to give you a job anyway? There is nothing you can do. It might be too hard, but you are trying to stick with it long enough to find out. If you don't get a job, what will you do?

Jean has asked you to come in and talk to her. You sure don't want to do that. Talking to grownups is terrifying, besides they are never honest with you and try to make you do things you can't do. Maybe Jean is okay: she wasn't too bad that time you talked. But she did get nosey about your family. You don't have to put up with that; you can walk out if she starts that sort of stuff again. It really is scary to talk to her though, but you have to do it or you won't get a job. She will probably throw you out anyway as soon as she finds out how dumb you are.

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

SMALL GROUP INSTRUCTIONS: A – JEAN

In your small group, your task is to decide what alternative strategies Jean might use in working with Betty. Decide what Jean should be trying to accomplish with Betty and what approaches (or strategies) she might take in doing so. At the end of this task, you will be asked to share your conclusions with the total group. Organize your information so that it can be easily summarized from the rest of the group. You will have 20 minutes to complete this task.

The following information about the program and the resources available to Jean should help you in this task.

The summer program Jean is working with is designed to place young people in jobs to give them a chance to work, earn money, and get some experience. The jobs available are typical summer work: waiting on tables in a restaurant, summer camp counseling, construction, and the like. The program, however, has another component for young people who need training before they can work. This part of the program is connected with the community college and will last all year. The way this is structured is that Jean, in working with her young people, can devise a training plan that will help meet a young person's needs and be implemented through the community college, which has a number of good resources available. They have remedial reading, GED programs, career workshops, and the like. In some cases, young people referred to that program by Jean can even get credits from the college for their training. They will not be paid, but their course work or training will be provided free of charge. Although job placement for people choosing to go into the training program is not guaranteed, the program staff feel fairly confident that they can place people after training.

Complete the outline on the following page and prepare your group's responses on a flip-chart.

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

From Jean's point of view—

1. What are Betty's basic needs?

2. What are your goals in working with Betty?

3. What approaches or strategies might you use?

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

SMALL GROUP INSTRUCTIONS: B – BETTY

In your small group, your task is to decide what are Betty's basic needs at this stage from her point of view. Then decide (still from her point of view) what options she has in terms of meeting those needs. At the end of the small group work, you will be asked to share with the total group your conclusions about what Betty sees as her most important needs and what she sees as her options in meeting those needs. Organize your information so that it can be easily shared with the total group. You will have 20 minutes to complete this task.

Remember the following about Betty: She has no money, no place to live and wants very much to have her baby with her. She also knows, when she is honest with herself, that she is getting nowhere and really wants something to happen to change her life. She secretly would like to get married and provide a home for her baby. She wants badly to have someone love her, but is sure no one can. After all, she is no good, she has been sleeping around, and she is sure she is dumb and "bad." She doesn't trust guys anyway. They all just use her. Actually she doesn't have any friends, girls or boys. There is no one that understands her. She is in the summer program for money. She knows she can improve her reading and writing skills and learn other things there as well. She thinks she would like that, but she is sure she will fail and be laughed at again. She did try once to take a remedial reading course, but she feels it was a failure. She thinks the teacher really had it in for her and kept embarrassing her in front of her friends. She believes the teacher just wanted to let everyone see how dumb she was. Betty told her off one night after a few beers, and never came back to the class.

Even if she would like to try some training, she knows she can't because she needs to work so she can live. Anyway, she is not sure she trusts the people at the program to really help her. She is sure they will throw her out of the program when they realize she is slow and that she has a bad reputation.

Complete the outline on the following page and prepare your group's responses on a flipchart.

A CASE STUDY: BETTY

From Betty's point of view:

1. What are Betty's basic needs?

2. What options does Betty have in meeting those needs?

3. What would Betty like Jean to do?

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A CASE STUDY: BETTY

Notes on Betty's point of view:

Notes on Jean's point of view:

OPTIONAL CASE STUDY: DAVID

David is 14 and has been in and out of trouble with the law several times. He was picked up for car theft at age 11, and released to his parents three years ago. The last time his parents turned him in was when they discovered him in the middle of a bad drug trip in another stolen car with some friends. They immediately took him to the local police station and left him there. He has just been released from a juvenile home into the custody of his aunt. His parents refused to take him. His aunt lives in another city and he did not know anyone there. His aunt is 50 and he last saw her when he was 10.

He is enrolled in the local high school and has rapidly established himself with a group of friends who get into trouble with the school for truancy, aggressive behavior and sometimes with the juvenile authorities.

David talks "tough," swaggers a lot and in general behaves in a manner difficult for teachers to handle. He does none of his assignments and makes a big point of entertaining the class by baiting his teachers. He refuses to sit down and talk to teachers or counselors. When sent to the office for disciplinary reasons, he walks out of the school and does not come back until the next day, or if forced to say something to the principal or other adults he announces loudly he is "bad" and "ain't nothing anyone can do about it!" The school is reluctant to have him picked up for truancy since his previous record would probably mean he would be institutionalized again. David does not indicate in any way he is concerned about that possibility. He has said several times he knows he will be sent back anyway by either the school or his aunt, so why worry about it. His aunt believes that his stay in the juvenile home was tough and difficult for him, so she is trying to convince the school to help him and her through this crisis and give him some time. His aunt has never had children, is single, and agreed to take David because she believes it is wrong for children to be rejected by their families. She is a strong churchgoer. She is afraid of the scandal of David's being picked up again by the authorities for illegal activities. She keeps things locked up at home just to be sure David does not take them. David does not talk to her and laughs about her with his friends.

STEREOTYPING EXERCISE

List at least five types of adolescent behavior about which you feel positive:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

Comments:

List at least five types of adolescent behavior about which you feel negative:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

Comments:

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PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE III

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

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(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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STEREOTYPING AND LABELING OF ADOLESCENTS

by Maria Le Clere
1977

Adolescence is a time when the childhood years are over and the adulthood years have not yet begun. Many adolescents have "lost" one identity and not yet gained the other. The search for an identity and for a meaningful role in society is extremely intense and often painful. Young people are moving out of the identity they have had with their family, school, and community and are trying to build a new identity and establish a sense of belonging. As a result, the external labels and the identity given to them by the adult world are very influential for the adolescents' development and feelings of self-worth. Kenneth Keniston characterizes youth as a "time of ambivalent tension over the relationship between self and society." Adolescents are constantly searching for clues to determine how the external world views them. They are particularly susceptible to identity labels applied to them by others because most of them have not developed a strong enough identity or self-image of their own. It is a time of extreme self-doubt and a time of struggling to find something or someone to trust. The certainties and foundations that were trusted during childhood are no longer valid. Establishing trust in something and finding a self-identity are all important issues to most adolescents. (Refer to themes and behaviors in Module II.)

It is therefore extremely important to look at the processes of labeling individual adolescents and stereotyping adolescents as a group that are done by society and by adult institutions. The teenage years are ones to which our society applies many stereotypes—many of them negative ones. Stereotyping teenagers into categories such as troublesome, selfish, worthless, self-centered, lazy, etc., seems to be a common practice of adults. Adolescents are portrayed in the public media in many of these types of stereotypic ways, and teenagers are well aware of the images that are applied to them. When a teenager behaves in a manner that the adult world interprets to fit into those stereotypes, the teenager often finds himself labeled as lazy, unmotivated, selfish, etc. Too often—particularly in the case of negative labels—the teenager begins to accept these external interpretations of his behavior as truth and accepts them as part of his self-image. The process of labeling individual adolescents and the impact that has on their self-image is what we want to look at. In particular this paper will focus on the lasting damage that can be done by premature negative labeling of adolescents who are searching for their identity and trying to get answers to the question: "Who am I?" When a young person feels that the outside world perceives him as a failure and has labeled him as such in his early developmental years, the chances are he will accept that concept of himself and become a failure.

LABELING

Adolescents are labeled both positively and negatively by a variety of persons.

Family, friends, teachers, and others in the youth's community have a profound influence on an adolescent's concept of himself. Individuals are, in fact, labeled by those in the institutions to which they belong all the time. Labels such as ambitious worker, smart, good guy, bad guy are constantly applied by school systems, family groups, and peer groups. Those types of labels often form the basis of a young person's definition of himself, his sense of competence, usefulness, and belonging.

The sense of belonging and knowing one's identity is clearly connected to developing a strong self-image. The transition period of adolescence is by nature a difficult one in this aspect and the adolescent is forever searching for cues and clues in the behavior of others to test their acceptance of him as an individual.

Closely connected is the feeling of power and control over one's life and one's identity. Youth, in fact, have little power over the institutions to which they belong (schools, for example) or aspire to belong (the world of work). Again, youth are constantly searching for the way these institutions perceive them as individuals and define their potential for meaningful existence.

Negative Labeling and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Many adolescents (particularly those found later in drug programs, juvenile justice programs, and the like) have been negatively labeled.

A majority of youth still manage to get through the adolescent years without getting caught in the self-fulfilling prophecy that occurs if they are negatively labeled by the outside world. But those youths who do get caught in that process are often the ones whom we later see as troubled, confused, and involved in a variety of "problem situations." Negative labels, when applied to youth repeatedly by their family, school, and community become the basis for that youth's image of himself. Some sort of self-perception—even a negative one—may seem at the moment preferable to the adolescent to none at all. If adult institutions begin to label him a failure, he is peculiarly attuned to hear that and accept it. He is at a unique point in life, with little trust in himself to define his own identity, anxious for others to define that identity for him, and prepared to accept that external definition of his identity as accurate.

After an individual has been labeled as a troublemaker, slow learner, delinquent, prostitute—or simply as "bad,"—that individual tends to be treated that way by parents, teachers, and friends. When society begins to expect an individual to behave in a way that conforms to those types of labels, that individual is under great pressure to do so. The more widespread and consistent the labeling, the more difficult it is for the adolescent to find alternative ways to define himself. If this label becomes a part of the youth's identity and if he begins to behave accordingly, the labeling has become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Self-Reinforcing Process

Often a person has accepted a negative label as part of his identity, it also becomes a self-reinforcing process.

The adolescent who has accepted society's view of him as "no good" begins to reinforce that concept for himself. He begins to look for (and often finds) opportunities to reinforce his self-image. He becomes certain that he is not acceptable and not to be trusted; his response is often to confirm that type of picture of himself. Interpreting the adults and their institution's view of himself as negative, the adolescent turning to a peer group for support. They often choose a like peer group (one in which others have the same negative labels) and reinforce the negative behaviors and images they have of themselves. They also reinforce for each other their feelings of alienation from society.

Negative labeling rapidly leads to feelings of alienation from meaningful social roles and feelings of failure and rejection by society and of society. Ultimately it causes the young person to lose any faith in himself and makes it almost impossible for him to trust anyone else other than peers he perceives to be like himself.

> *Alienation in its most general sense is a destruction of one's ties to the social order, a weakening of one's feeling of belonging to the family, the school, or the community, a weakening of feeling morally obligated to obey the rules, and a doubt that there are any positive rewards for striving to do what is right. In essence, it is a rejection of one's rejectors, a psychological disengagement from the society one lives in.**

One of the significant aspects of this response to labeling and to limited access to desirable social roles is that it gives the youth permission to ignore or violate the rules. If one feels that he doesn't belong, has no possibility of any rewards from continued involvement, and ultimately has no moral obligation to those in authority in these institutions, then he is free to engage in any form of behavior that is personally gratifying. There is nothing to lose.** If a young person does not feel respected and loved at home, or succesful at school and believes that it is impossible to move into a rewarding career path, that youth has little or no reason to hope for success in the traditional societal framework. He places little or nothing in jeopardy by experimenting with illegal forms of behavior; in fact, these types of behavior may become his only hope of success. If he is cut off from school and work, his only source of financial and material rewards may be criminal activity.***

Sources of Negative Labeling

Family expectations of a young person and interpretations of aspects of his behavior are often a primary source of negative labels. Educational systems and other institutional settings, however, are an equally important source of negative labels. Schools are for the most part competitive, and failure is a strong part of our school process. Once a child or adolescent becomes part of the failure syndrome within the school, it is extremely difficult for him to become successful. A great deal of research has been done concerning the issue of failing students and "slow learners." The data uncovered consistently supports the theory that a young person who is labeled a slow learner will in fact become one, regardless of his actual abilities and skills. Once that feeling of failure is implanted in a young person, changing it becomes an extremely difficult task.

**A Design for Youth Development Policy*, Center for Action Research, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, June 1976.

**Ibid.

***Ibid.

The juvenile justice system invariably labels an adolescent in negative ways as soon as the adolescent becomes involved in that system. Again, studies show that once a youth is labeled a delinquent or a pre-delinquent or a youth offender, society treats him as such. The chances are great that eventually the youth will see himself the same way.

> *The problem with institutional labeling, such as that in the school or the justice systems, is that it is often premature, inappropriate, and dictated by system requirements rather than a careful evaluation of the individual's abilities, values, and commitment to the particular kind of behavior. The danger of labeling, whether in the home, school, or juvenile justice system, lies in the very real possibility that the youth has not made any real commitment to the specific behavior which generated the label; the labeling process itself reinforces the very behavior which was seen as objectionable.* *

IMPLICATIONS FOR COURSE PARTICIPANTS

One of the major points to understand about the process by which labeling occurs is that this process is inherent in our society and that most of us play a part in the process. When negative labeling does occur and does become an integral part of the youth's concept of self, it is usually a part of a complex series of events that is difficult to unravel in later life.

If, in fact, it has occurred, the youth worker dealing with this adolescent must be aware that the adolescent is continuing to search for confirmation of his self-image. If he does not trust himself to define that self-image, he will go to extreme steps to get others to define it for him. Often this leads to unusual experimental behavior (i.e., fighting, drinking, drugs, sex, defiance in general) to elicit some response to help him find some definitions (i.e., tough, wild, crazy, weird, etc.), any of which distinguish him among his peers. Because they are often the most influential reference group and often provide the only (perceived) source of trust, the negative label can become self-reinforcing.

Thus, the adolescent has become an integral part of the problem by interpreting for himself, in a negative way, society's view of him as an individual. The youth worker must try to understand and deal with the complexity of that issue. The adolescent with a negative self-image does not trust positive feedback. The stronger the negative image, the more difficult for the person to hear, see, or trust any positive feedback. The truth (and the adolescent knows it) is that our society does reject the person who is labeled a failure. The extent to which the adolescent has defined himself as a failure and has cut off his ties with society limits his options. Creating alternative ways to look at himself and his options is a complex and yet a critical aspect of any strategy designed to help the adolescent.

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*Ibid.

MODULE IV

SELF-UNDERSTANDING

MODULE IV: SELF-UNDERSTANDING

PERSPECTIVE

The basic purpose of this module is for participants to understand clearly that a person's values impact his/her behavior. During this module, participants will be able to discover some specific values and beliefs they hold that influence their attitudes toward young people and the things young people do. Participants will not be able to get into an in-depth analysis of their values or their own adolescent experience during this module. The purpose is not to do values clarification per se—it is to recognize the importance of values and to begin to look at specific areas where individual values help or hinder one's work with youth.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to—

- identify two personal beliefs and how they positively influence their behavior when working with youth;
- identify two personal beliefs and how they negatively influence their behavior when working with youth;
- describe a personal experience in which an intervention's success or difficulty was related to value issues.

NOTES:

REACTIONS TO SELF-UNDERSTANDING

Exercise 1 — My Adolescence, A Recall Exercise

Exercise 2 — Values Clarification: Positioning Exercise

Exercise 3 — Values Auction

Exercise 4 — Situational Role Play

VALUES AUCTION WORKSHEET

	Amount I Budgeted	Highest Am't. I Bid	Top Bid	Bought By Whom
1. A satisfying and fulfilling marriage				
2. Freedom to do what you want				
3. A chance to direct the destinies of a nation				
4. The love and admiration of friends				
5. Travel and tickets to any cultural or athletic event as often as you wish				
6. Complete self-confidence with a positive outlook on life				
7. A happy family relationship				
8. Recognition as the most attractive person in the world				
9. A long life free of illness				
10. A complete library for your private use				
11. Successfully having and raising a child				
12. A satisfying religious faith				
13. A month's vacation with nothing to do but enjoy yourself				
14. Lifetime financial security				
15. A lovely home in a beautiful setting				
16. A world without prejudice				
17. A chance to eliminate rape and VD				
18. International fame and popularity				
19. An understanding of the meaning of life				
20. A world without graft, lying or cheating				
21. Freedom within your work setting				
22. A really good love relationship				
23. Success in your chosen profession or vocation				
Total	$15,000			

VALUES – BEHAVIORS WORKSHEET

Five values to which I I budgeted most money	Helpful behaviors resulting from these values	Hindering behaviors resulting from these values	Implications these might have on my work with youth
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE IV

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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MODULE V

ANALYTICAL AND DECISION-MAKING SKILLS

MODULE V: ANALYTICAL AND DECISION-MAKING SKILLS

PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this module is to examine the *process* by which given situations are analyzed (e.g., that of an individual adolescent, a family, a group, etc.) and decisions are made about intervention possibilities. Special consideration will be paid to the elements of a prototype framework for decision-making. Participants will compare their own decision-making process to the prototype. Opportunities will be provided for application of the prototype framework to a range of potential intervention situations.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to--

- list the elements of the prototype analytical framework;
- state the elements of their prior decision-making methodology;
- review a sample situation and describe the following:
    a. six clues and cues evidenced in the person or situation
    b. two relevant pieces of data about the person or situation under analysis
    c. one way in which the clues, cues, and data gathered have been influenced by participants' own beliefs, knowledge, and experience
    d. the problem situation(s)
    e. three forces potentially affecting the problem-solving process
    f. one goal of intervention
    g. two potential intervention possibilities
    h. the match (or lack of match) between the desired goal and the participants' skills
    i. one decision about whether and how to intervene
    j. one mechanism for evaluation of the decision made
- demonstrate an awareness of the context in which decision-making occurs, and the interrelationship of the process and context by discussing two examples of these elements;
- state a chosen element from the prototype framework on which they wish to focus attention for the duration of training.

NOTES:

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THE MODEL AND THE PRACTITIONER: SOME IMPORTANT NOTIONS

FOCUS

The purpose of this paper is to (1) discuss the importance of the context in which any interaction occurs and the ways in which the context can affect the outcome, and (2) introduce the concepts of role and influence and their relevance to any interactional process.

We will examine and work with models by which people make decisions about their relationships with others. More specifically, we will look at the steps involved in analyzing a given situation from the moment we first discover that situation until we've decided what to do about it. As people who work with adolescents, in a variety of settings and with different backgrounds, experience, goals, and expectations, what you have in common is that (1) you are all involved with youth; (2) you delineate, consider, and respond to a variety of situations each day; and (3) you have a process by which you make your decisions. Because the decision-making process varies little from situation to situation, let's spend some time considering the context in which it occurs. The experience and the outcome of the decision-making process can be markedly different.

All relationships are dynamic since they involve the interests, energy, needs, hopes, thoughts, values, and concerns of all participants. Each person brings his own baggage, his own set of biological, psychological and sociological elements, to each relationship. These elements will have different weights and will be variously experienced depending on the particular features of the relationship. One approach to deeper understanding of this notion is through role theory.

Role theory considers a person and his *role*, the set of behaviors and expectations surrounding him at a given moment, as being inseparable. Roles can be adopted by the person or assigned to him by someone else. They may reflect the actual nature of an individual, or be based on fantasy, stereotyping, assumptions, ignorance, wishes, etc. Some roles are linked with a person and some with the position he fills. Linton, for example, has differentiated between *ascribed roles* resulting from characteristics we are born with and cannot alter, and *achieved roles*, things we accomplish and can effect. It is possible to experience oneself as influencing a designated role, or as being influenced by it.

Furthermore, everyone fills a combination of roles simultaneously, e.g., wife, mother, teacher, friend, supervisor, etc.* To further complicate things, roles also change in response to newly developed relationships, to altered relationships, to environmental changes, and to a myriad of other circumstances. Often alterations in role, either how one sees one's own role or how one is perceived by others, cause stress and difficulty (just as it can also result in growth and enjoyment). This is of course a common dilemma for the adolescent who is in constant upheaval as to the kind, number, and quality of roles experienced, adopted, or ascribed. Therefore, it is important to keep the awareness of role changes and the related pressures in mind in thinking about the relationship that develops between us and the adolescent with whom we're working. The roles with which we approach a relationship affect its process and outcome. A relationship between a teacher and student, for example, will be much more fraught with issues of authority and influence than that between two students. Because the teacher is in a position to evaluate the student officially, to record opinions of student behavior and accomplishment, to interact with parents and other authorities in the student's world, the teacher has the potential for wielding large amounts of power and influence. A fellow student, while he may have access to highly valued resources of one sort or another, is unlikely to have the same kind of potential power over another kid's life. (A sample exception to this notion would be the influence based on life and death options that a student gang leader might have over a rival gang member.)

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*Sometimes these multiple roles are compatible and sometimes they are in conflict; the professional woman with an important board meeting and a sick child is an obvious example.

In order to clarify this notion further, let's consider the bases that exist for influence between people. *Influence* as defined in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1957 edition, is "the act or power of producing an effect without apparent force or direct authority." There are several bases upon which a person becomes influential:

- Knowledge and expertise
- Material resources and services
- Legitimate authority
- Status and reputation
- Charisma and personal attractiveness
- Control over the flow of information
- Established relationships

Typically, adults hold positions and fill roles that enable them to exert varying amounts of influence over adolescents. Adults are most often related to youth as parents, teachers, counselors, clergy, probation officers, physicians, politicians, entertainers, etc. Most often, adults still hold the power and desired position in relation to the adolescent. The adolescent is usually acutely aware of the differences between himself and the adult and of attempts to influence his behavior. Incidentally, this does not mean that influence is, or is intended to be, a bad thing: it is a fact of life that happens, often despite efforts to minimize or avoid it. Nevertheless, because it represents an area of critical stress between adolescents and the world, those working with youth need to keep it in mind as much as possible.

Because the relationship among participants greatly affects their ability to hear each other accurately, to assess each other's viewpoint fairly, and to work together in a decision-making process, the impact of roles—and how we choose to use them, perceive them, and respond to them—is an important area of study.

ROLE WORKSHEET

Roles Filled	Ascribed	Achieved	Is the role influential? Yes	No	Over whom?

Learnings/insights about myself and my roles:

DECISION-MAKING CHECKLIST

Please indicate whether you have sufficient information in the following areas to make a decision about what you would do next. Note what information you have questions about.

Do you have sufficient information about:

	Yes	No	What would you question?
1. Doris			
2. Yourself			
3. Doris' situation			
4. Your situation			
5. Possible goals of any interaction			
6. Potential intervention options and resources			
7. Other			

DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE UNTIL YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE DECISION-MAKING CHECKLIST ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE.

DORIS: AN EXAMPLE

Doris is a 14-year-old girl who just finished telling you that she is pregnant. As she has been describing her pregnancy, she has had a smile on her face, and has been nervously wringing her hands together. At several points, Doris said that she shouldn't be bothering you with this problem, but she states that you are easy to talk to.

By the time she leaves, Doris has told you the following details: the father is a 15-year-old boy she has known only a brief time, and whom she has not told about the pregnancy; her parents do not know she is pregnant; she believes she can have the baby and keep it without making many changes in her current lifestyle, although people will soon see she is pregnant; she fears abortion because it might damage her body; she has just been awarded a scholarship to a local ballet school and was told she has great talent; she comes from a strict religious upbringing; she had been forbidden to date the father; she attends a school that doesn't allow pregnant girls in class; her closet friends are classmates.

Your interaction ended when Doris looked at her watch, mumbled that she was late for an important meeting, and quickly disappeared out your door without giving you an opportunity to say anything.

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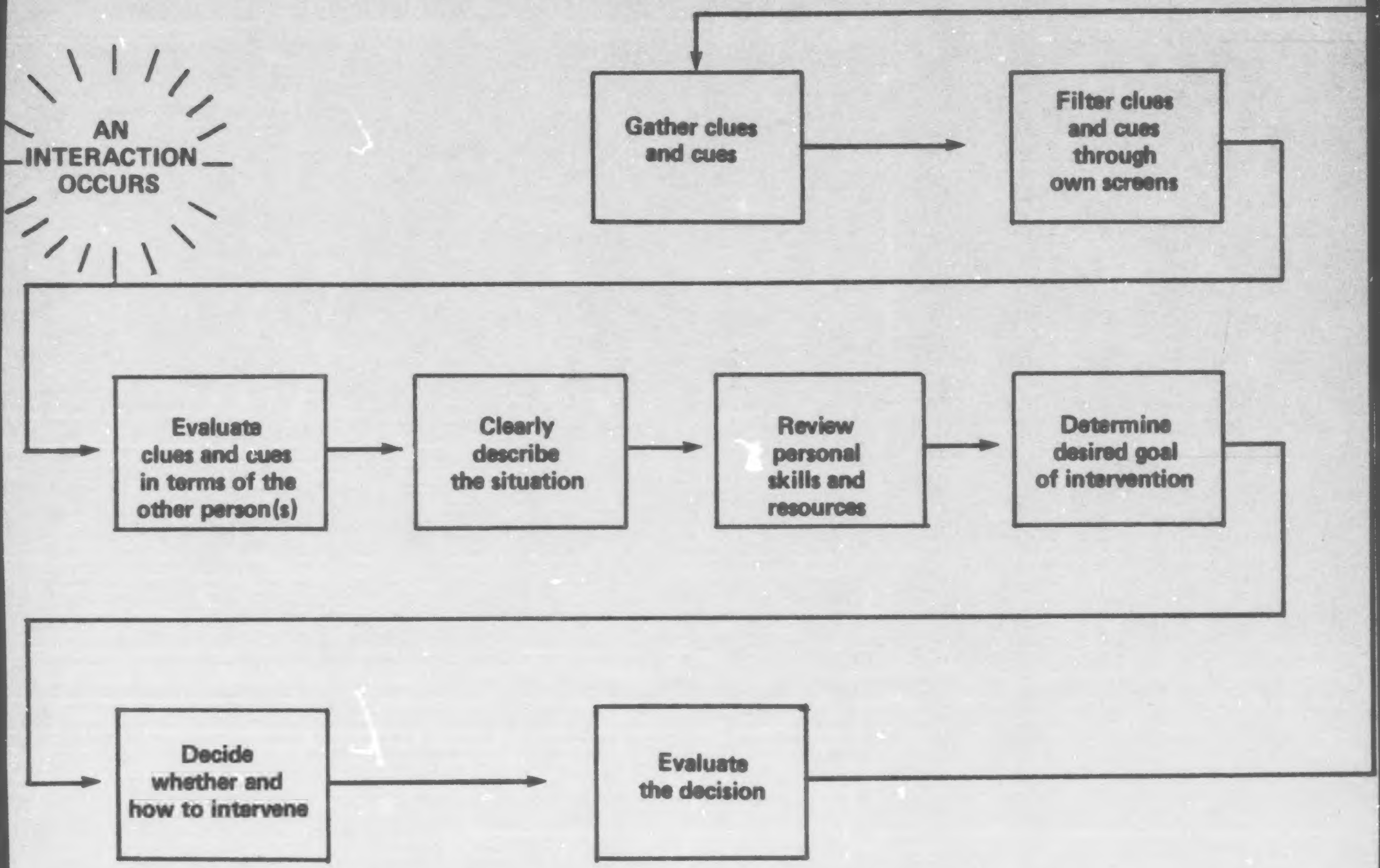
THE PROTOTYPE DECISION-MAKING MODEL


AN INTERACTION OCCURS
Gather clues and cues
Filter clues and cues through own screens
Evaluate clues and cues in terms of the other person(s)
Clearly describe the situation
Review personal skills and resources
Determine desired goal of intervention
Decide whether and how to intervene
Evaluate the decision

DECISION-MAKING WORKSHEETS

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AN INTERACTION*

An interaction is an *event or situation* that occurs involving any number of people, institutions, dynamics, issues, etc. The following are examples:

- You overhear a conversation in the hallway between two young people in which they talk about a party held last night where everyone got drunk and sick, and that no one else made it to school today.
- The president of a youth group asks you for help planning a fund-raising event. The funds will be used to buy skate-boards, ping-pong equipment, and volleyballs for the group.
- A 13-year-old girl has become sullen in school, and her grades have gone from A's to C's in one semester. Her mother calls and asks for an appointment to talk with you, and requests that her husband and daughter be included in the appointment.

The first thing you must do in any of the above situations is to recognize, perhaps only in very general terms, the need for you to make a decision about what you will do next. Thereafter, you begin a decision-making process in which you consider whether, and the ways in which, you will relate to the interaction that has occurred. You will ask a number of questions about the interaction, think about yourself in relation to it, and arrive at a course of action you wish to follow.

Let's look briefly at some decisions that might be suggested by the above examples:

- In the first example, you have some data about kids absent from school, which you gathered accidentally. Your decision involves what to do with that information: whether to talk with the kids, to share it with school officials, attempt to gather further information, corroborate the facts of the story, or to act as if you never heard the information.
- The other two examples are somewhat different because your involvement has been directly solicited. Nevertheless, you could similarly choose to limit your future contacts in a variety of ways and for various reasons, or choose to be much more involved with the described situation than your invitation suggested.

Obviously, the above examples describe different sets of circumstances. Nevertheless, in each of these instances, you need to make a decision about how you will use your skills and resources, to what extent you want to invest your time, interest, and energy; whether you are the most appropriate person to interact with this situation, etc. In addition, you will want to decide what the actual elements of the interaction include, whether there is a problem requiring action, and how critical that problem is at the moment.

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*Richard Bellman and Charlene Paul Smith, *Simulation in Human Systems: Decision Making in Psychotherapy*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).

In any case, you will be asking yourself a number of questions in an attempt to gather as much information as possible about the interaction, the people involved in it, and your potential role.

Having a general framework available for dealing with that information can prove very helpful. In the following pages, we will explore such a framework, use it with several examples, and evaluate the extent to which it can help the process.

GATHERING CLUES AND CUES

The first step in a decision-making process is the gathering of clues and cues, which begins with the interaction. Some of these clues and cues are obvious and straight forward, such as who's involved in the situation, and the basic, observable facts. Other clues and cues are more subtle and deal with how people are feeling or thinking about the interaction, whether the participants have a history that is greatly influencing events of the moment, and whether the most significant aspects of the interaction are happening on the surface or below it.

Pincus and *Minahan*[*] have categorized the mechanisms by which we typically collect clues and cues into three groups:

1. *Questioning:*

   This can be done both verbally and in written form. It includes interviews, counseling sessions, testing, questionnaires, letters of recommendations, etc.

2. *Observation:*

   This process refers to noticing all the nonverbal signals a person sends: the way they posture themselves, whether they make eye contact, etc. This also includes being aware of patterns of behavior, typical companions, recurrent habits of absence or lateness, etc.

3. *Use of written material:*

   This includes information gathered for other purposes like school records, police reports, newspaper stories, etc.

The kind of data we gather, and often how we choose to gather it, is a function of our *roles* and what we have access to (e.g., not everyone could review a police report), our *skill* perceiving clues and cues (both verbal and nonverbal, obvious and hidden), and our *beliefs* about the kind of data we think is valuable (some people believe psychological testing is the only reliable way to check out someone's emotional state).

Naturally, the information we get about a person and his situation is also a function of what he or she is willing to share. Therefore, the *process* by which the information becomes available must be kept in mind: information freely offered is frequently quite different from stuff that has been coerced.

Equally important to the kind of clues and cues made available in a given situation is the way participants in the situation feel about each other.

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[*] Allen Pincus, and Anne Minahan, *Social Work Practice: Model and Method*, F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, 1973, p. 117.

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Max Siporin* talks about how difficult it is to get accurate data if the relationship doesn't provide an environment in which the person feels free to offer information openly. Furthermore, the ways in which the information might be interpreted or used is very important: it's always easier to speak openly when you believe you will be understood and respected. Other conditions that create a supportive environment for sharing information are trust, caring, and honesty. Because privacy, personal integrity, and self respect are significant issues for most adolescents, the best way to gather accurate information is to create an environment that communicates your respect, concern, and understanding of that adolescent and his situation.

Regardless of how carefully you try to structure an environment so that information is given freely, clues and cues will frequently be complicated, confusing, conflicting, and difficult to decipher. We all know, for example, how words of a message often express one thing while the speaker's behavior (tone of voice, vocabulary, body posture, etc.) reflect another. In these instances, the clues and cues you gather alert you to the importance of both messages and to the possible need to sort these out at some future point.

For example, imagine this scene (adapted from Beier, Ernest G., nonverbal communication "How We Send Emotional Messages," P. T., October 1974).

> *An eighteen year old boy has just returned home at one a.m. for the thirtieth night in a row. He smells like a brewery and looks sullen. His mother is sitting at the kitchen table, red-eyed and wringing a handkerchief about in her hands. She looks distraught and exhausted. He enters the kitchen, sits down at the table without a word, and begins to eat a sandwich sitting half-eaten on the table. His mother asks him where he has been. He answers with a cold stare.*
>
> *She says, "I want you to move out of here." He says, "Is there anything here to eat?" She says, "I'm serious. I've had enough of you. I treat you well and you treat me like a servant. I don't like you anymore."*
>
> *The boy looks up at her with fear in his eyes and a quiver on his lips.*
>
> *"Give me one reason why I shouldn't throw you out tonight," she demands.*
>
> *Perspiration has appeared on his upper lip. He starts to say something but lights a cigarette instead. He avoids her stare, and his eyes dart around the room as if searching for an answer. Then he clears his throat, his eyes brighten, a smile appears across his face and he says, "I love you."*

Trying to sort out the clues and cues in this situation would be quite a challenge. The boy's behavior is, at least on the surface, not very caring, and his conversation reflects neither concern for, nor interest in, his mother's state of upset, or in her threat to evict him. If, however, we consider his nonverbal clues and cues, the fear in his eyes, the quiver

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*Max Siporin, *Introduction to Social Work Practice*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), pp. 219-250.

and perspiration on his lips, we begin to formulate a more complete picture of this experience and of the complexity of the messages being sent to the mother from her son.

Clearly, the better we are at picking up clues and cues, the more we will know about a situation at the beginning and throughout the process. This will be helpful to our decision-making process and to our ultimate decision.

The best way there is to increase skill at gathering clues and cues is with practice. Let's spend several minutes thinking about Doris and the clues and cues gathered from the interaction with her.

CLUES AND CUES: DORIS

Please list below the clues and cues you perceived in the interaction with Doris:

FILTERING CLUES AND CUES THROUGH OUR OWN SCREENS

Once we have gathered a variety of clues and cues, by whatever means available to us, we *filter* them through what can be called our personal *screens*. Filtering is a process that allows some things to pass through, while keeping others out; it's a similar process whether it involves drip coffee or clues and cues gathered from an interpersonal interaction. Our personal screens act as filter paper determining which clues and cues get through to us, and subsequently influence what we do with the data that does get through.

Each of us has a different set of screens that are a function of who we are, where we've been, what we believe, what we know, etc. Our values and experience deeply affect the kinds of screens we develop. For most of us, it is easier to hear and think about those things we value, and our screens are likely to allow such things in. On the other hand, things we fear or dislike are more likely to be filtered out. Experience in an area may make it easier or more difficult to deal with some clues and cues, but in every case, it's likely to have some impact. Because our screens play a dominant role in the kind of information we are able to collect and work with, it's important to know as much as possible about your personal screens: what things you value and fear, how your experiences are relevant to a particular situation, etc. The work you did in Modules III and IV, looking at yourself and your perceptions of others, should be helpful to you at this stage.

We can also spend several moments thinking together about the examples of interactions offered under the worksheet on interaction and the ways in which personal screens might have influenced the clues and cues gathered from those situations.

Suppose you are the person the youth group leader has asked for help with fund-raising, and you believe that fund raising in order to buy athletic equipment is a ridiculous activity. Furthermore, on several occasions you have offered to help this group with activities that sometimes came off well and at other times bombed. What would you do? Believing as you do that fund raising in this situation is "ridiculous," and judging from your past experience with the group, it is likely that you would not consider the request very seriously, and that you would dismiss the idea.

Consider the case of the 13-year-old girl described earlier. You might feel frightened of talking with the whole family because you are unskilled at working with the kind of family dynamics you anticipate. Your lack of skills and knowledge is likely to influence the way in which you interpret the data you receive.

You might tell yourself that this meeting has been proposed in order to bully you into giving the girl higher grades and, therefore, refuse to see any members of this family. It may, however, be that you have been unable to hear a cry for help from a mother trying to keep a marriage and family together. She may see you as the only legitimate person who could work with that family. Your anxiety could have interfered with an important message, and altered the outcome of this situation.

FILTERING CLUES AND CUES THROUGH OUR OWN SCREENS
(continued)

1. What are some of the other ways in which your personal screens might have influenced your experience of these two interactions described on page V-12?

   a. The interaction with the youth group leader:

   b. The interaction with the family of the 13-year-old girl:

2. What are some of the personal screens that you experience in thinking about Doris?

3. In what ways might these screens influence your next decision-making steps?

EVALUATING CLUES AND CUES IN TERMS OF THE OTHER PERSON(S)

Naturally, what you know and what you believe are very important. Every bit as critical, however, are the ways in which the other person(s) in the situation view it. In Module II, Themes of Adolescence, we talk about the major themes of adolescence: personal identity, sexual identity, interpersonal identity, and social identity, and how these can influence behavior in a variety of ways.

The young person is under pressure both from within himself and from outside. The struggle to define his vision of the world is powerful during this period. He is likely to experience and communicate inconsistent messages about his view of the world. Nevertheless, it is essential that you try to experience his world through his eyes if you want to be really helpful to him.

The most important point is not to judge or evaluate the other person, but rather to use everything at your disposal to try and know him better—to evolve a clear, three dimensional picture of the person with strengths, weaknesses, likes, dislikes, fears, goals, etc.

To do this you may have to imagine yourself in the role of that person. What would your feelings, thoughts, and wishes be under those circumstances? What kinds of options would you see for yourself? What kinds of constraints?

The greater your capacity to experience the role of the "other," to be empathic to the person and his situation, the more easily you will be able to make contact with both him and his situation.

Some of the ways you might do this are to think about that person and what you know of his life that could help you imagine what this moment is like for him. You would want to consider his age, race, situation, and any other characteristics you know about him. What you've learned about adolescence and experienced personally, passing through that period in your life, is also useful here.

EVALUATING CLUES AND CUES IN TERMS OF THE OTHER PERSON
(continued)

1. What are some other ways you have discovered for helping yourself experience the world through another's eyes?

2. To practice our ability to evaluate clues and cues in terms of "the other," let's look at Doris and consider some of the ways she views the world.

DESCRIBING THE SITUATION

The next step in the decision-making process is *clarifying* what the decision is that you'll be making.

Your goal at this phase should be to describe very specifically the situation and the decision to be made.

In order to do this, you'll want to consider, perhaps even with the other person, the following issues:

1. *How can I best describe the situation?*

   - What people are involved and how did they become involved?
   - What is the setting like?
   - Is it a crisis requiring immediate action, or is it something that can be examined over time?
   - Does it seem to be simple or complex?
   - Does it relate to prior situations involving either the same people or setting?
   - Does it appear to be mostly about a person, several people or a group of people, an organization, several organizations, etc.
   - What else would have to be involved in any decision made?
   - What are the realistic boundaries of this decision? (When must it be made, etc.)

2. *How can I best describe my relationship to the situation?*

   - Are the issues/people/places familiar to me?
   - Do I have "rapport" with the people involved?
   - What are my attitudes about the critical elements of this situation?
   - What expertise do I have in this area?
   - How did I become involved in this situation?
   - What existent relationships do I have that could influence this situation?

- What hunches do I have about the outcome of this situation—
  a. if I intervene?
  b. if I don't intervene?
- What are some other considerations?

3. *What other questions would I consider in analyzing a given situation?*

Often there is not just one problem or concern in a given situation, but several. When this occurs, you'll be putting together your experience, knowledge, and best guess and describing the most important aspect of the situation. If possible, you'll be choosing the most critical or basic aspect to work with first, following later with other important elements.

THE SITUATION AND THE DECISION

1. What other assumptions need to be made about Doris' situation before continuing the analysis?

2. How would you describe Doris' situation?

3. What do you see as the decision to be made in Doris' situation?

PERSONAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES

Each of us has different skills, resources, and talents. Knowing what we can and cannot do and where our greatest strengths and weaknesses lie is important, because it enables us to honestly appraise our ability to be helpful in a given situation. Furthermore, recognizing our personal limitations allows us to design strategies for growth. At the moment we'll focus on knowing our strengths in order to be maximally helpful; we'll consider personal learning needs in subsequent modules.

How often do you take inventory of your skills and resources? Do you think seriously about yourself as a resource with an assortment of talents? Do you also consider things you can't do but need to? How do you conceptualize and appraise your helping skills?

It might be useful to your personal skill assessment if you could categorize the kinds of interventions people typically make in helping relationships. These interventions can be grouped under three general headings as follows:

1. *Education:* those activities designed to help people get information, knowledge, and skills

2. *Facilitation:* those activities that stimulate and mediate connections in and between systems, and that strengthen and energize systems

3. *Advocacy:* those activities performed on behalf of someone else in order to acquire needed resources and services*

Depending on your occupation, one of these categories may reflect more of the interventions you generally make than the other two. Not infrequently, however, people are skilled in an assortment of interventions and find themselves calling upon a variety of these to respond to a particular situation.

To further exemplify the ways in which you might use yourself, let's borrow from Max Siporin** a list of activities people actually perform.

1. Situational redefinition
2. Refocusing attention
3. Stress reduction
4. Changing behavior or setting
5. Changing climate of opinion
6. Acculturation
7. Group restructuring

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*Pincus, op. cit., p. 113

**Siporin, op. cit., pp. 304-309

8. Member separation
9. Group disbandment
10. Situational behavior change
11. Social identity or role change
12. Ceremonial ritual
13. Placement in a therapeutic situation
14. Rematching an individual and a group
15. Programs and projects
16. Primary prevention intervention
17. Strengthening the natural helping system
18. Direct aid in problem-solving

As if all those aren't enough, how you actually perform those activities also makes an enormous difference. For example, if you view behavior along a continuum of control, you could interact with someone in a style reflecting one method from a range of possibilities.

Place yourself along this continuum of control.

LIGHT		MEDIUM		HEAVY
1	2	3	4	5

List some examples of the ways you interact that tend to demonstrate this style, e.g., if you placed yourself at "2" along the continuum, you might use a reflective style, encouraging persons to take most of the responsibility for their actions and decisions. On the other hand, if you are more likely to provide solutions or to direct people toward certain options, you might be closer to a "4" on the scale.

Behaviors that characterize your style:

Some of the roles you fill demand that you act more in one style than another. However, becoming more aware of the messages you send and of their impact would be extremely useful to your improved functioning in any of these roles. Also, keep in mind that the choice of a style is not always under your control. Your role in a given relationship, will be related to such things as the position you're in, your personal charisma, your leadership abilities, who you know, characteristics you have that remind the person of someone else who holds a position of authority in his life, etc.*

It would be great if we could all feel free to use whatever resources we can generate to intervene in a situation. Being realistic, however, we know that often the constraints of our work or personal situation prevent us from doing this. For example, if your role as a para-professional in an organization does not include counseling of kids, it may be irrelevant that you have very strong facilitation skills. Issues such as time and space availability, use of resources for the acquisition of training equipment, and similar policies about how things can happen in your organization must be given your realistic consideration before you commit yourself to an action you may not be allowed to complete.

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*Pincus, op. cit., p. 248

PERSONAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES
(continued)

What skills do you think are necessary in working with Doris?

Education ____ Yes ____ No

Facilitation ____ Yes ____ No

Advocacy ____ Yes ____ No

Which of these skills do you see in yourself?

Which do you lack?

In thinking about your employer, what kinds of organizational constraints would you need to consider before intervening with Doris?

DETERMINING THE DESIRED GOAL(S) OF INTERVENTION

By now you've put together a pretty good picture of the situation and your role in it. In fact, you've probably done a lot of thinking about what it is that needs to happen next. The important question now becomes what your goals would be if you intervene at this point.

Goal setting can be defined as an examination of alternative routes and strategies that takes into account all you know about the situation, and stipulates what changes you would expect to see as a result of having intervened.

"An outcome goal is an envisioned end state. . .in which we would like to see a situation at the end of successful (intervention) planned change effort."* Outcome goals must include consideration of the person, the helper, and the system in which they are all operating.

The best goals are concrete and measureable: they state clearly what the change will look like and how it can be measured.

Goals can exist on several levels: you might want to say that your goal for a particular intervention would be to enable the person to use his own inner resources as a result of your efforts. On a much more concrete level, you might state your wish to help that person choose a college to attend, or get off drugs, etc. It is possible to have several levels of goals, simultaneously, but it is also to your advantage to understand the differences between general and concrete goals. The more concrete and specific the goal, the easier it is to evaluate whether you have the capabilities to intervene and, after intervening, whether the goal was achieved.

Sometimes it is appropriate to have *short term* and *long term* goals for the same relationship. Short term goals would deal with the present and perhaps one or two months into the future. Long term goals might involve months or even years. With Doris, for example, a short term goal might be helping her think about how to tell her parents about the pregnancy; a long term goal might be to establish a relationship in which she can explore her values and behaviors in relation to adults. Long term goals should always be alterable in response to the outcomes of short term goals and interventions.

Regardless of how clearly you have established the goals for intervention, it is impossible to establish these in a vacuum.

Goals are a function of all the people they involve and must be agreed upon, either covertly or overtly, among them. It is not unusual to discover yourself struggling to achieve a goal that seems to be in someone else's best interest. No matter how hard you try, however, you seem to make no progress. Checking out the goals of the other people involved might explain why you get nowhere: they may be moving in an opposite direction.

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*Pincus, op. cit., p. 87

Suppose your goal were to help Doris tell her parents about the pregnancy, and she is absolutely determined never to do so. All of your support, persuasion, direction, and coercion probably will not convince her to tell them.

Furthermore, your efforts are likely to alienate her and jeopardize the positive aspects of your relationship.

You may have more experience than the kids you work with, and believe your age and worldliness grants you wisdom to know better what the "right way" looks like. You may often be correct, but it may not matter at all that you're right. To work together with another person means that you must come to an understanding about a *mutual* goal towards which you can work. Maybe you'll both have compromising to do, but in the process of talking about the goals and the necessary compromises, you'll already be doing a lot of important work together:

1. Gathering more clues and cues about each other's values, attitudes, knowledge, and skill
2. Learning more about whether or not and, if so, to what extent you can trust each other
3. Determining whether you understand each other well enough to work together
4. Deciding whether you basically like each other

What other factors would you add?

You'll want to try and establish mutual goals as openly and honestly as you can. After all, if someone is going to work with you on the solution to some dilemma, they can best do so if the desired solution is clear. Furthermore, you'll want to protect your own professional and personal integrity by stating directly what you do and don't wish to aim for in a particular relationship.

Perhaps after making the goals clear, you'll have to part company with the person because the goals each of you holds cannot be made consistent with the other's. This, however, is surely preferable to moving toward an unproductive end.

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Once you've established your goals and checked them out with the others involved, compare them to your skills and resources. Perhaps you are not the person who can be most helpful in this situation, or maybe you have neither the time, nor the interest, nor the energy. On the other hand, you may be just the person, and be very eager to begin to apply your skills to this situation. It is important, in either case, to evaluate how well suited you are to the person and his situation before making any decision.

DETERMINING THE DESIRED GOAL(S) OF INTERVENTION
(continued)

Even though we can't check them out with her, let's practice goal setting with Doris.

What goal(s) would you have in mind for her situation?

DECIDING WHETHER AND HOW TO INTERVENE

This is the point at which you come to an actual decision about what you want to do and how you want to do it.

The decision might be to go ahead, to not go ahead, to gather more information, to ask for more time to consider where you are, etc.

In order to make this decision in a competent way, you'll want to have some idea of the kind of activity you will perform if you decide to go ahead, and what that might mean to the person and situation. Similarly, you'll want to think about what it will mean if you decide to not go ahead.

In any case, your decision will have been based on a careful look at a number of factors. Ideally, you'll feel comfortable making the decision.

Keep in mind that whatever decision you make must correspond to that of the other people involved in this process. To continue, despite your wish to do so, if the others are resistent or unwilling, may be anything from foolish to impossible.

What decision would you have made with Doris?

Why?

EVALUATING THE DECISION

Regardless of the decision you made, it is extremely useful to evaluate and learn from it. The best way to do this is to re-enter the loop you have just completed by measuring the clues and cues you receive after making the decision. Perhaps the message will be that you were correct in your course of action, perhaps not. There's usually time for readjustment, however. The more clearly you listen to the feedback, and process it through the rest of the model, the faster you can make any necessary changes.

What clues and cues might you look for from Doris after you have made and shared your decision with her?

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PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE V

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

(Continued on the next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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MODULE VI

CASE STUDIES

MODULE VI: CASE STUDIES

PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this module is to integrate the learnings acquired thus far by analyzing and assessing individual case studies and developing a rationale and strategy for handling the particular situations described in the cases.

Participants will identify common problems and issues of the youth with whom they work. They will have an opportunity to analyze and share an actual case about a youth with whom they work. They will receive feedback from other participants and expand their awareness of resources and of themselves.

OBJECTIVES

By the end of this module, participants will be able to—

- demonstrate preparation and understanding of at least two case studies by presenting a decision and rationale answering the questions "What would you do?" and "Why?" regarding the issues of the case;
- list at least two problems they consider most difficult in working with their target population;
- list at least two resources or approaches (of which they have no prior knowledge) and provide an appropriate example of how the resources or approaches might be used.

CASE STUDY: CHARLES K.

(as reported by a concerned teacher)

When I first became aware of Charles, he was a seventh term high school student and a member of my section class. A tall, dark-haired, underweight youth, his most outstanding characteristic was an expression of intense thoughtfulness and introspection that possessed a maturity beyond his 17 years. Charles was obviously resentful of any encroachment upon his privacy of thought. Consistent with this behavior, he had no friends among his schoolmates. My first interest in Charles was merely routine: that of any reasonably conscientious section teacher whose attention is arrested by a spotty attendance record and a consistently poor report card.

I decided to have a talk with Charles. Before approaching him, however, I consulted the permanent records in the school file. I learned these facts:

His score on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test was 125. This was consistent with his reading score and arithmetic achievement score. His achievement in past terms had been consistently poor and, like his attendance record, was growing progressively worse. The Dean's file listed only one offense against Charles: during the preceding term he had engaged in fights during his lunch period. The details went on to relate that he was severely beaten by a boy whom I knew to be a head shorter than Charles, and at least one year younger.

The following afternoon I requested that Charles remain a few minutes after class. With obvious reluctance he agreed to do so, but informed me that because he had a dental appointment, he could only spare a few minutes. After the class was dismissed Charles remained in his own seat, seemingly oblivious to my presence. I walked to the seat adjoining his and sat down. The following conversation ensued:

I: *I know that you are in a hurry, Charles, so I'll only keep you a few minutes. I've been noticing you during the last couple of weeks and you do not seem very happy. I thought perhaps I could help. Is everything all right, Charles?*

C: (avoiding my glance) *Sure.*

I: *About your school work: You're not doing as well as I know you can. Why?*

C: (with a shrug of resignation) *I don't know.*

I: *Do you like school, Charles?*

C: *No.*

I: *Does that account for your attendance record?*

C: *No, I've been sick a lot.* (I suspected that this was not true.)

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I: *What would you want to do instead of going to school?*

C: *Get a job.*

I: *Do you know what kind of work you would like to do?*

C: *Haven't thought much about it.*

I: *Do you belong to any clubs, Charles?*

C: *No.*

I: *According to your report card, you are doing pretty well in art. Do you like to draw?*

C: *Not particularly.*

I: *Do you think you have any talent in that direction?*

C: *Not enough to bother about.* (Subsequent discussion with his art teacher confirmed this opinion.)

I: *Do you think you could become interested in any of our extra-curricular activities at the school? The art club, for instance?*

C: *No, I don't think so.*

I: *All right, Charles. I see you are anxious to get away, so suppose we continue our little talk some other time.*

After Charles left, I sat musing over the brief interview. My impressions were that he had built a thick wall about himself, and he was alone. I was determined to find out more and gain his confidence.

Further activity in this case was to come much sooner than I suspected. Two days after my first talk with Charles, I received a note from Miss J., the Dean of our high school, requesting that I come to her office immediately. When I entered, I found Miss J., Charles, and another woman who was introduced to me as Mrs. K., Charles' mother. Mrs. K. was probably in her middle forties, although her artificially colored hair, her cosmetics, and her manner of dress were obviously designed to hide that fact. She was a woman of better than average good looks.

I had entered into a highly charged atmosphere, and it is safe to surmise that my entrance had temporarily stilled a previously noisy and emotional scene. Miss J. attempted to sketch the trend of the discussions up to that point, with frequent interruptions and side remarks from Mrs. K. Mrs. K. appeared to be intoxicated. I managed to learn that the events that precipitated Mrs. K.'s visit were as follows: Charles and his mother had frequently quarreled over the desirability of leaving school. Failing to gain his mother's consent, Charles had taken to playing truant. During these periods of truancy, Charles had taken odd jobs in the neighborhood. Mrs. K. complained of an increased lack of obedience on Charles' part, and held the school responsible for failing to satisfy the needs and interests of her son.

At this time, Miss J. asked me to recount some of my impressions and experiences with Charles. I expressed these observations that I wrote earlier in this report. Miss J. then turned to Mrs. K. and asked her why she objected so strenuously to Charles' taking a job. Mrs. K. answered that she was determined that Charles should graduate from high school. I asked whether she entertained any ideas of sending him on to college, and received a definite negative reply. I then explained that Charles could finish his high school course during the evening if he should get a job. And I hastened to add that the school maintained a very fine employment service that would not only find a desirable job for Charles, but would continue to be concerned over his progress. Mrs. K.'s answer was unexpected: "I wouldn't trust Charles on a job where he would handle money. He will steal."

At that point, Charles spoke.

C: *I don't know why she said that; I never stole anything.*

I: *I never seriously suspected that you had.*

C: *My mother hasn't been herself lately. She wouldn't say that if she weren't upset.*

Having at last broken the hard shell of his reserve, Charles began to speak in some detail of his past experiences and home environment. He revealed these facts:

His father and mother were divorced when he was seven. He saw his father several times a year thereafter until his father's death four years later. Charles seemed to remember him with respect, although he was never very close with his father and retained no vivid memories of him.

Approximately five years ago, his mother took a full-time job that left Charles very often to his own resources. Charles seemed to feel that it was boredom that prompted his mother to find employment, rather than any real financial need. (I suspected a touch of resentment and blame in the latter remarks.)

When Charles was 12, his mother made arrangements to send him to a children's camp. Charles objected and pleaded to be allowed to remain at home, but to no avail. It was evident that Charles did not believe his mother's decision to be a selfish one, for he remarked: "I guess my mother felt that a summer in the country would be good for me. And then she wouldn't have to worry about me while she was working." After three unhappy weeks away from home, during which time he admittedly avoided all social intercourse and camp activities, Charles was called before the head camp counselor. He was asked to choose between returning home or changing his attitude toward his fellow campers to one of cooperation and good will. He chose to return home.

Charles made no friends during his boyhood years, either among his schoolmates or in the neighborhood where he lived. "We just don't seem to get along," he said. "All they are interested in is playing ball and going to the movies, things like that."

Two years ago his mother was remarried. Charles bore no dislike for his step-father. In fact, he confided that in several instances he was instrumental in patching up quarrels between his mother and step-father. I believed him, and my initial faith in the boy was steadily reinforced by other revealing remarks. I learned that quarrels and harsh words were common at home. Charles did not know, or was reluctant to tell, the causes of these quarrels, and I did not press for details.

We turned our attention to his future, and began to survey possible fields of employment. Charles seemed to have no specific preferences, but he expressed the hope that his job would entail foreign travel. I mentioned the possibilities of obtaining additional help from a professional agency that would offer him better counsel in this matter, and Charles was very much interested and asked if I could obtain further information for him. I asked Charles to discontinue any further discussion of the matter at home, and promised to do all I could for him. Charles left in better spirits; at least he smiled when he said goodbye.

At the close of the school day, I stopped in to see Miss J. in order to compare notes concerning Charles' case. After piecing our stories together and comparing impressions, we made some plans for what to do next.

CASE STUDY: KATHY R.

(as reported by a school counselor)

Presenting Problem: Kathy is 17 years old and was referred to the school counselor because of suspected drug abuse.

School Record: Kathy attended a parochial elementary school. Her achievement and aptitude tests fall into the normal range, yet her grades are just passing. Very little information appears in the elementary cumulative records. She is presently in her third year of high school. Teachers like her, yet they believe she is performing below her level. She cuts her physical education classes because she refuses to wear a gym suit. She is not a discipline problem in class, but constantly appears tired and never participates.

Family Background: Kathy's father died when she was nine years old. Her 57-year-old mother suffers from severe diabetes. Kathy has one brother who is 12 years older than she. He has been hospitalized for heroin addiction. The family lives in a private house in a suburban neighborhood. Many youngsters from this same area, and attending the same high school, have been seriously involved with drugs. The family's socio-economic status is lower-middle class. The youth growing up here seek mainly blue-collar jobs. Kathy's father owned a coffee shop not far from their home. The family still owns this business, and Kathy occasionally works there after school. It is believed that a great deal of gambling takes place in the coffee shop.

Health Record: There is no indication of chronic illness. She has been absent a great deal, and complains of stomach problems. She has been tested and there is no evidence of ulcers or any other gastrointestinal disorder.

Personality and Appearance: Kathy is 5'7" tall and weighs approximately 130 pounds. She appears to have a well developed figure, but is slightly round shouldered. She wears no make-up and has a very pretty face. She dresses in jeans and shirts. Although her appearance is very pleasing, Kathy has a very poor self-concept. She does not see herself as attractive and is constantly worrying about being too fat. Her disposition is easy going and friendly, yet she is subject to hostile outbursts.

Confidential Guidance Report (Summary): When Kathy was first referred to the counselor, she refused to go. It has taken a long time to establish a relationship with Kathy in which she is willing to speak freely about what is happening. The drug use is past the experimental stage. At one point, she was selling drugs. She herself was heavily involved in barbiturate use and just about anything else she could get her hands on. Her closet friend, Nancy, is also involved in drugs. Kathy's boyfriend (3 years) has been arrested several times for stealing a car, selling drugs, etc. On one occasion when Kathy and her friends where baby-sitting, they took acid and attempted to flush the baby down the toilet. One of the friends who was not "stoned" stopped this and nothing happened. Several of Kathy's friends have been hospitalized for drug overdose; two died. Although both Kathy and her friends found this frightening, it has not stopped their drug use.

In the course of the counseling sessions, Kathy disclosed many things: she does not feel loved, nor worthy of love. She does not see herself as attractive, and often refers to herself as stupid. She stated that she was sexually molested by her uncle when she was in elementary school and carries the fear and guilt with her. She worries about her mother's health, and believes her mother is unaware of what is going on. Kathy often talks about her first cousin who died of an overdose of drugs. It seems as though everyone around her is involved with drugs. She has no idea of what she will do when she graduates. She says she doesn't care and would quit school if it weren't for her mother.

Teachers are reporting that she is walking into walls and falling asleep on the desk. Kathy is extremely manipulative and refuses to cooperate.

When it was suggested that her mother be contacted and that she explore options for outside help, she stated that she would commit suicide.

CASE ASSESSMENT WORK SHEET

PERSONAL ANALYSIS

Record on this form all pertinent data abstracted from the case study that you think is necessary to determine and develop a strategy to deal with that particular situation.

1. INTERACTION Circumstances that led you to be involved with this case	
2. CLUES AND CUES Information obtained by questioning, observing, and gathering written material concerning: • Medical history (chronic illnesses, accidents, etc.) • Familial history (parents, siblings, home environment) • Social history (peer relationships, clubs, gangs, organizations, social agencies, courts, employment) • School history (grades, aptitudes, behavior, anecdotes) • Other	

3. PERSONAL FILTERS

Impressions about the people involved

Opinions about themes of adolescence that may be present

Personal values that may help or hinder interaction

4. PERSPECTIVE OF THE OTHER PERSON(S) INVOLVED

How does the youth feel; what does he/she want to occur; what are his/her thoughts

5. CLEARLY DESCRIBE THE SITUATION

Presenting problem(s) or issue(s)

Decision(s) to be made

Additional information needed or assumptions made

6. PERSONAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES Present • Educational • Facilitation • Advocacy • Other Needed	
7. GOAL(S) OF INTERVENTION Short-term Long-term	
8. STRATEGY Action to be taken (or not taken)	
9. RATIONALE Why you decided to intervene or not to intervene	

CASE ASSESSMENT WORK SHEET

SMALL GROUP CONSENSUS

The recorder in each small group is to fill in the categories listed below. This information will be presented to the total group.

1. GROUP STRATEGY	
2. RATIONALE	
3. RESOURCES	

STEPS TO TAKE IN CASE DEVELOPMENT

INSTRUCTIONS

The following points are recommended for you to follow in developing a case description of one of your clients. *Use separate sheet(s) to write out your case.* Try to cover all the points described below, as briefly and concisely as possible. If you do not have sufficient information to answer some of the questions, make a note of that fact for later use in analyzing what information you need to proceed in this case. You may use this format, the case assessment format, or both to prepare for presenting your case to the small group.

1. *Decide* who is the case. Choose a case in which you are either (a) at a critical impasse or (b) at the beginning of a relationship.

2. *Describe the adolescent.* (Clues and Cues, Your Own Filter, Other Person's Perspective)

    - Age
    - Sex
    - Family
    - Peers
    - Background summary
    - Current environment
    - Central issues/problems as expressed by adolescent
    - Communication skills (ability to articulate needs and concerns)
    - Relationship with you (e.g., level of trust, feelings about you, your feelings about him or her, etc.)
    - Strengths and weaknesses

3. *Describe yourself,* the youth worker (Situation, Personal Skills and Resources, Goal of Intervention, Strategy)

    - Roles and responsibilities (brief summary)
    - Relationship with client
    - Interventions already tried
    - Perception of critical problems/issues facing your client
    - Most immediate concerns you have about your client
    - Resources you know of that might be useful
    - Strengths and weaknesses relevant to this case

4. *Summarize* major problem(s) of this adolescent using one/two word descriptions (e.g., peer pressure, family, drugs, etc.)

STEPS TO TAKE IN CASE DEVELOPMENT

1. DECIDE WHO IS THE CASE.

Choose a case in which you are either (a) at a critical impasse, or (b) at the beginning of a relationship.

STEPS TO TAKE IN CASE DEVELOPMENT

2. DESCRIBE ADOLESCENT.

(Clues and Cues, Your Own Filter, Other Person's Perspective)

Use the following in your responses: age, sex, family, peers, background summary, current environment, central issues and problems as expressed by adolescent, communication skills (ability to articulate needs and concerns), relationship with you (e.g., level of trust, feelings about you, your feelings about him or her, etc.), and strengths and weaknesses.

STEPS TO TAKE IN CASE DEVELOPMENT

3. DESCRIBE YOURSELF, THE YOUTH WORKER.

(Situation, Personal Skills and Resources, Goal of Intervention, Strategy)

Give a brief summary on the following: roles and responsibilities, relationship with client, any interventions already tried, perception of critical problems/issues facing your client, most immediate concerns you have about your client, resources you know of that might be useful, and strengths and weaknesses relevant to this case.

STEPS TO TAKE IN CASE DEVELOPMENT

4. SUMMARIZE MAJOR PROBLEM(S).

Summarize major problem(s) of this adolescent using one or two word descriptions (e.g., peer pressure, family, drugs, etc.).

CASE ASSESSMENT WORK SHEET

PERSONAL ANALYSIS

Record on this form all pertinent data abstracted from the case study that you think is necessary to determine and develop a strategy to deal with that particular situation.

1. INTERACTION Circumstances that led you to be involved with this case	
2. CLUES AND CUES Information obtained by questioning, observing, and gathering written material concerning: • Medical history (chronic illnesses, accidents, etc.) • Familial history (parents, siblings, home environment) • Social history (peer relationships, clubs, gangs, organizations, social agencies, courts, employment) • School history (grades, aptitudes, behavior, anecdotes) • Other	

3. PERSONAL FILTERS

Impressions about the people involved

Opinions about themes of adolescence that may be present

Personal values that may help or hinder interaction

4. PERSPECTIVE OF THE OTHER PERSON(S) INVOLVED

How does the youth feel; what does he/she want to occur; what are his/her thoughts

5. CLEARLY DESCRIBE THE SITUATION

Presenting problem(s) or issue(s)

Decision(s) to be made

Additional information needed or assumptions made

6. PERSONAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES

Present

- Educational
- Facilitation
- Advocacy
- Other

Needed

7. GOAL(S) OF INTERVENTION

Short-term

Long-term

8. STRATEGY

Action to be taken (or not taken)

9. RATIONALE

Why you decided to intervene or not to intervene

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SMALL GROUP TASK

The purpose of the small group is for each of you to have the opportunity to look at and analyze your case in an organized fashion; to use the other group members, their experience and their knowledge of resources in helping you plan next steps with your client; and to receive feedback about the effect of your behaviors and attitudes on the youth with whom you work.

The following list of tasks should be followed in your small group:

1. Make sure everyone is clear on the purpose and the task.
2. Appoint a time keeper. (You are on a limited time schedule and must keep to the appointed times or one of your group members will be shortchanged at the end.)
3. Decide on how much time each person will have for their case presentation and feedback. (Divide three hours evenly between each member; leave 15 minutes extra for breaks.)
4. Decide on the order of presentations.
5. Review the paper on feedback following these tasks. Discuss how each person would like to give and receive feedback. Agree on how feedback will occur in the small group.
6. Review the "Sample Case Presentation Flow" following the feedback paper. Change (or keep) the time schedule according to the decision you made in Number 3 above.

FEEDBACK

Feedback is a way of helping another person or ourselves consider changing some aspect of behavior. It is a communication to a person that gives him information about his behavior and its effect on others. Feedback lets someone know whether or not his behavior is having the effect he intended; it tells him whether he is on target or not as he strives to achieve his goals. Good feedback can either confirm behavior by encouraging repetition, or correct it by encouraging a change in behavior to fit the situation.

Feedback is a message we get from others. It can be verbal or nonverbal, but it is always a signal—a smile, a clenched fist, a facial expression, a body posture, a mutter, a specific word—that tells us how we have affected others.

Feedback between you and your fellow group members in this training will be your most valuable learning tool. You need each other to learn. You are both trainee and trainer—not only receiving feedback from other group members about your behavior and skills, but also giving it to them when it's appropriate. You are each other's resource people. Try to give feedback as often as appropriate, and feel free to ask for feedback yourself.

Feedback can be helpful or destructive, useful or useless, depending upon how and when it is given. You will be more effective as a resource person if you learn and follow some general rules for giving helpful feedback. Remember that constructive feedback doesn't refer only to positive aspects of a person's behavior or to what we like about something someone did. Good feedback covers both positive and negative qualities, things we like and dislike, behavior a person may want to keep and behavior he may want to consider changing.

The following are ten guidelines for feedback:

- Give feedback that is *intended to help* the receiver; do not "dump" or "unload" on someone just to have something to say.
- Give feedback that *describes* what the person is doing; do not evaluate him as a person.
- Give feedback that is *specific*, with clear and recent examples; do not be vague or general.
- Give feedback that is *well-timed*, as soon after the behavior as possible; do not give feedback if the receiver does not seem ready to hear it.
- Give feedback in *appropriate doses*. Do not give more than the receiver can process at one time.
- Give feedback that is directed toward behavior that the receiver can *reasonably* be expected to do something about.

- Give feedback that can be *checked with the receiver* to ensure clear communication.
- Give feedback describing the *effect* that the receiver's behavior has on you. *Avoid asking "Why?"*
- Give feedback *directly* and with real feeling.
- Give feedback that can be checked with the group for *accuracy* and *validity*.

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SAMPLE CASE PRESENTATION FLOW

5 - 10 minutes: *Presentation of case:*

Presentor describes case and responds to questions from group. These questions are for *clarification* only (example: "How old is the person?" or "I don't understand what you were saying about ________'s relationship to his parents."

10 - 15 minutes: *Group discussion of case:*

Here the focus should be on input of the group members about what points may have been overlooked, what information might be helpful, resources that might be helpful, any feedback to the presentor of the case on his attitude or behavior so far. A quick summary from each group member of critical decisions that need to be made in the case should be done before concluding this step.

Group should also respond to specific areas in which the presentor would like feedback.

5 - 10 minutes: *Summary:*

Presentor leads discussion of goals and strategies that could be used and suggests appropriate resources. Group provides comments and feedback.

TOTAL TIME: Approximately 30 minutes

Repeat for each case.

PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE VI

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

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(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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MODULE VII

MYSTERY MODULE

MODULE VII

MODULE VII

____
(Indicate here topic to be discussed for Module VII)

Complete according to presentation.

PERSPECTIVE:

OBJECTIVES:

MODULE VII: MYSTERY MODULE

NOTES:

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PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE VII

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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MODULE VIII

PERSONAL LEARNING PLAN AND CLOSURE

MODULE VIII: PERSONAL LEARNING PLAN AND CLOSURE

PERSPECTIVE:

The purpose of this module is to provide a structured opportunity for the participants to review course learnings, compare the learning to their current skills and job functions, and develop an individualized Personal Learning Plan that realistically reflects learning needs, limitations, resources, and strategies.

OBJECTIVES:

By the end of this module participants will be able to—

- state three skills or concepts that they have learned or improved through course participation;
- describe two skill/knowledge areas in which they have become strong;
- list three learning needs that have been identified as requiring further attention;
- delineate at least one area in which they would like to increase skills or knowledge and stipulate proposed mechanisms for doing this;
- state at least three specific impacts of training on their ability to work with adolescents;
- contribute to the on-going development and maintenance of the course by assessing their experience with course content, format, and design.

NOTES:

LEARNING ASSESSMENT CHECKLIST (LAC)

(See page VIII-5 for a completed sample of this checklist.)

TOPIC 1	MAJOR CONCEPTS 2	SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE GAINED 3	CURRENT SKILLS 4
I Course Introduction			
II Themes of Adolescence			
III Stereotyping and Labeling of Adolescents			
IV Self-Understanding			

LEARNING ASSESSMENT CHECKLIST (LAC)
(continued)

TOPIC 1	MAJOR CONCEPTS 2	SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE GAINED 3	CURRENT SKILLS 4
V Analytical and Decision-Making Skills			
VI Case Studies			
VII Mystery Module Title: ______________			
VIII Personal Learning Plan and Closure			

SAMPLE

LEARNING ASSESSMENT CHECKLIST (LAC)

TOPIC 1	MAJOR CONCEPTS 2	SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE GAINED 3	CURRENT SKILLS 4
I Course Introduction			
II Themes of Adolescence	Bio, psycho, social aspects of development Different stages of adolescence Major Themes of adolescence Behavioral expression of adolescent themes	Differentiation of stages Increased understanding of themes and significance of these in behavior Details of cultural difference of adolescence	Biological/health aspects of adolescence Pregnancy in adolescence Medical aspects of drug and alcohol abuse
III Stereotyping and Labeling of Adolescents	Significance of these on behavior (mine and theirs) Importance of understanding my attitudes and values in order to effectively help others Ways in which stereotypes box kids into behaving in certain ways Etc.	Increased awareness of my own attitudes about— • kids who break rules • kids who "talk back"	Know variety of values clarification exercise Have a system for checking myself to get an updated sense of my own attitudes and values
IV Self-Understanding			

PERSONAL LEARNING PLAN (PLP)

A. Skills and knowledge needed	B. How to use the skill? How often? Why is it needed?	C. Limitations to acquisition of the skill/knowledge	D. Resources available to aid in acquiring skill/knowledge	E. Strategy for use of resources to overcome limitations	F. Date by which steps are completed

PERSONAL RECORD

MODULE VIII

OBSERVATIONS, INSIGHTS, LEARNINGS

about myself:

about youth/adolescents:

about my work:

other:

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(Continued on next page.)

REMAINING QUESTIONS, UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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RESOURCE MANUAL

RESOURCE

RESOURCES

The following is a collection of articles, most of which have been previously published by well known and respected authors in the fields of adolescence, psychology, and social sciences. The first section of the articles have been selected to provide a basic understanding of adolescence. It is intended to augment the content that will be received during the training. The second portion of the manual is a collection of articles about particular groups, such as adolescent girls, black youths, Mexican-American children, etc. It is hoped that these articles will stimulate your thinking and will provide a springboard for you to seek out further information about the particular groups of adolescents with whom you work.

None of the above articles is intended to communicate any particular point of view. The articles have been intentionally chosen to represent a number of perspectives on youth. Some will be extremely useful also because they contain extensive reference lists at the end of the article. Please continue to collect your own set of resources and add them to this resource manual.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF THEORIES OF ADOLESCENCE

by

Rolf E. Muuss

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF THEORIES OF ADOLESCENCE

Long before psychology became a science, there were philosophical, theological, educational and psychological theories that contributed to an understanding of human nature and human development. G. Stanley Hall, as a result of his famous two volume work, *Adolescence* (1916), is considered the father of a scientific "psychology of adolescence." Prior to Hall it was frequently the philosopher-educator who was especially concerned with a theory of human development with its implications for teaching. This was the case with Plato, Aristotle, Comenius, Rousseau, Herbart, Froebel, and Pestalozzi.

One difficulty in identifying prescientific theories of adolescent development is that prior to Hall adolescence was not considered a separate part or stage of human development and received no special emphasis. The word "adolescence" first appeared in the fifteenth century, indicating that historically adolescence was subordinated to theoretical considerations about the general nature of human development. Contemporary theories of adolescence frequently have their historical roots in general theories of development. Some important ideas about human development come from philosophers who are primarily concerned with the question: What is the nature of man? For example, what Locke and Darwin had to say about the nature of man is so profound that it is utilized and reflected in the writings of Rousseau and Hall respectively and thus constitutes a philosophical basis for a theory of development.

In classifying theories of development, Ausubel (1958) distinguishes between preformationistic and predeterministic approaches to human development on the one side and tabula rasa approaches on the other side. The preformationistic theory is reflected in the theological proposition of man's instantaneous creation, in the homunculus theory, and in in the doctrine of man's basic sinfulness as well as in the more recent theories emphasizing instincts and innate drives. Predeterministic theories postulate universally fixed stages of development, but allow for environmental influences, as is obvious in Rousseau's romanticism, Hall's theory of recapitulation, Freud's stages of psychosexual development, and Gesell's emphasis on maturation. In contrast to this are the tabula rasa approaches that minimize the biological and genetic factors and place the emphasis on environmental determinants of human development. As the name implies, this includes Locke's tabula rasa theory, the humanistic approaches, and the related modern theories of behaviorism, social learning theory, and cultural determinism.

EARLY GREEK CONCERN WITH HUMAN NATURE

A historical approach to the theory of adolescence must begin with the early Greek ideas about human development. Their influence remained prevalent through the Middle Ages and is still noticeable today. The philosophical idea of dualism, for instance, is essentially Greek. Plato (427-347 B.C.) made a clear distinction between two aspects of human nature: soul and body. He expounded that body and soul are different substances and that although there is some interaction between them the soul is an entity in itself, capable of leaving the body without losing its identity. It can perceive more clearly and reach higher realities when freed from the body; *soma sema* ("the body is the grave of the soul"), he declared. The body and sensuality are the fetters that hinder the soul in reaching those higher realities. Body is matter and has all the defects of matter. The idea of dualism between mind and body reappeared later in Christian theology and became of primary importance in the philosophical thinking of the seventeenth century, especially under Descartes, Liebnitz and Spinoza.

Of greater interest from a developmental point of view is the idea of the layer structure of the soul which Plato developed in the dialogue *Phaedo*. According to Plato, the soul has three dishtinguishable parts, layers, or levels. Thus, probably for the first time in the history of psychology, a threefold division of soul, or mind is advanced. The lowest layer of the soul is described as man's desires and appetites. Today we might describe this level in terms of drives, instincts, and needs, and its resemblance to Freud's concept "id" can hardly be denied. According to Plato, this part of the soul is located in the lower part of the body and is primarily concerned with the satisfaction of the physical needs. "...It fills us full of love, and lusts, and fears, and fancies of all kinds, and endless foolery, and ... takes away the power of thinking at all" (Plato, 1921:450). The second layer of the soul, the spirit, includes courage, conviction, temperance, endurance, and hardihood; aggressiveness and fierceness also originate here. Man has both the first and the second layer in common with the animal world. These two layers belong to the body and die with it. The third layer is divine, supernatural, and immortal; it constitutes the essence of the universe. This is the real soul, which Plato described as reason and which has its temporary seat in the body. Plato's theory concerning the layer structure of the soul closely resembles several contemporary central European personality theories, which are developed on the assumption of a layerlike stratification of personality, especially the theories of Lersch and Remplein....They perceive development as a process by which the lower layers mature earlier and are superseded by higher layers as the child grows older. Plato had already postulated such a developmental theory. Reason is latent during the first stage when perception is most important. Among contemporary theorists.Piaget maintains that percepts develop into concepts. The second stage of development is characterized by conviction and understanding and brings the second layer of the soul, spirit, into the foreground of psychological development. The third stage, which we might identify with adolescence and maturity, but which, according to Plato, is not reached by all people, relates to the development of the third part of the soul, reason and intelligence.

Interspersed in most of Plato's dialogues--but particularly in *Laws* and *The Republic*--are descriptive accounts of children and youth as well as advice concerning the control of their behavior. While this material does not constitute a theory of development as we understand it today, it does give insight into Plato's conception of the nature of development.

During the first three years of his life the infant should be free from fear and pain and sorrow. This point of view would be endorsed by many psychologists today. Interestingly enough, in the dialogue *Laws* Cleinias suggests that in addition to freeing the infant from pain we ought to provide him with pleasure. This is in agreement with Plato's basic goal, which is the possession of happiness. However, the Athenian Stranger objects that this would spoil the child, since during the early years "more than at any other time the character is engrained by habit" (Plato, 1953:359). Character is formed at such an early age because the experiences and impressions leave a lasting influence. However, Plato did admit that "the characters of young men are subject to many changes in the course of their lives." The argument about the consistency of personality versus its modifiability has continued, and proponents for both of Plato's statements can be found today.

From three to six the child needs sports and social contact with age-mates in order to get rid of his self-will. Plato would punish but not disgrace the child. Social development is taken into consideration at this age, and children ought to come together in a kind of kindergarten arrangement under the supervision of a nurse. However, children should find for themselves the "natural modes of amusement" appropriate to their age.

Plato suggested a division of the sexes at six. "Let boys live with boys and girls .... with girls." The boy now has to learn horsemanship, the use of bow and arrows, the spear, and the sling. Boys will not be allowed to drink wine until they are eighteen because of their easy excitability, "fire must not be poured upon fire." A related adolescent desire is argument for amusement's sake. In their enthusiasm they will leave no stone unturned, and in their delight over the first taste of wisdom they will annoy everyone with their arguments. Plato believed that the character is formed through habit at a very early age.

Plato developed his educational philosophy in *The Republic*. He perceived education as the development of the soul under the influence of the environment, "and this has two divisions, gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul." Reasoning in the young child is undeveloped, but since the young child is impressionable, Plato suggested establishing "a censorship of the writers of fiction," since "anything that he receives into his mind is likely to become indelible and unalterable: and therefore .... the talks which the young first hear should be models of virtuous thoughts" (Plato, 1921: 642). Rational and critical thought develop mainly during adolescence. The training that began with music and gymnastics during childhood was continued through adolescence with mathematical and scientific studies. The latter brought out critical

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thought and dissatisfaction with direct sense knowledge; during this training students would develop methods of finding the truth and of distinguishing truth from opinion. In *Laws* Plato spoke of education as "that training which is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of virtue in children--when pleasure, and friendship, and pain, and hatred are rightly implanted in souls not yet capable of understanding the nature of them, and who find them, after they have attained reason, to be in harmony with her" (Plato, 1953:218). The meaning of education in this view is to provide experiences for children prior to the development of reason that are nevertheless in agreement with reason when it does develop during adolescence. Plato already recognized the importance of individual differences; children are born with different abilities and should be guided into those kinds of activities that are in line with their aptitudes.

Plato postulated that the attainment of knowledge might be explained by his doctrine of innate ideas. Though undeveloped, vague, and nebulous, innate ideas are nevertheless present at birth. Learning is a process of remembering these ideas, which once--probably before the soul entered the body--were clear. Sensations help in reawakening these partially lost ideas. The mind-body dualism is of relevance here, since the body contributes sensation while the mind contains the ideas. In this way, Plato's theory of innate ideas opens the discussion about the influence of heredity and environment.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), in contrast to Plato, denied the separation of body and soul and returned to the older Greek idea of the unity of the physical and mental worlds. Body and soul, according to him, are related in structure and function. The relationship between body and soul is the same as that between matter and form; body is matter and soul is form. Soul-life, for which Aristotle used the word "entelechy," is the principle by which the body lives. Aristotle accpeted Plato's idea concerning the levels of the soul-life; however, he viewed soul structure from a biological, almost evolutionary, point of view. The lowest soul-life form is that of the plant, the life functions of which are supply of nourishment and reproduction. The next higher form of soul-life is also found in animals, its additional functions being sensation, perception and locomotion. The third soul-life function is distinctly human and sets men apart from the animal world. It includes the ability to think and reason. Consequently, there are three layers of soul-life, the food-supplying or plant soul, the perceiving or animal soul, and the thinking or human soul. A Aristotle further divided the thinking or human soul into two different parts, the practical soul, by which we deliberate about those things which depend on us and our purpose to do or not to do" (Aristotle, 1925:1196) and the theoretical soul, which deals with higher and abstract knowledge such as distinguishing between what is is true and what is false.

Aristotle advanced a theory of development concerning the layer structure of the soul that appears to have some resemblance to Darwin's more scientific biological theory of evolution, even though it does not include the idea of evolution of one species to another. Furthermore, Aristotle made an impassable division between the different levels of soul-life. Plato, in describing the stages of development, held that the first (plant) soul level developed before the second (animal) soul level and this, in turn, was a prerequisite for the rational soul level. Aristotle followed this idea of the level structure of the soul and applied it to the development of the child, as becomes obvious from the following quotation:

> "As the body is prior in order of generation to the soul, so the irrational is prior to the rational. The proof is that anger and wishing and desire are implanted in children from their very birth, but reason and understanding are developed as they grow older. Wherefore, the care of the body ought to precede that of the soul, and the training of the appetitive part should follow, none the less our care of it must be for the sake of the reason, and our care of the body for the sake of the soul."
>
> (Aristotle, 1941c:1300-1301)

Aristotle divided the developmental period of the human being into three distinguishable stages of seven years each. The first seven years he named infancy; the period from seven to the beginning of puberty, boyhood; and from puberty to twenty-one, young manhood. This division of the period of development into three stages was generally accepted during the Middle Ages and recurs in some modern psychological theories of development, such as those advanced by Kroh, Remplein, and Zeller in Germany. Until recently twenty-one was the age at which the last limitations and protections of the "minor status" were removed.

Infants and animals are alike in that both are under the control of their appetites and emotions. "Children and brutes pursue pleasures" (Aristotle, 1941a:1053). Aristotle emphasized that moral character is the result of choice, "for by choosing what is good or bad we are men of a certain character..." Even though young children are able to act voluntarily, they do not have choice; "for both children and the lower animals share in voluntary action, but not in choice, and acts done on the spur of the moment we describe as voluntary, but not as chosen" (Aristotle, 1941a:967-968). This seems to imply that children first go through an animallike stage of development; what distinguishes them from animals is that children have the potential for higher development than animals, "though psychologically speaking a child hardly differs for the time being from an animal" (Aristotle, 1941b:635). It is the characteristic of adolescence to develop the ability to choose. Only if the youth voluntarily and deliberately chooses will he develop the right kind of habits and thus in the long run build the right kind of character. By making choices the adolescent actively participates in his own character formation. Voluntary and deliberate choice thus becomes an important aspect in Aristotle's theory of development, since it is necessary for the attainment of maturity. This idea is expressed by several modern writers. For example, both Margaret Mead and Edgar Friedenberg have stated that today with prolonged education and prolonged dependency we have reduced choices for adolescents to

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the extent that we interfere with their attainment of maturity.

Although Aristotle did not offer us a systematically stated theory of adolescence, in *Rhetorica* he provided us with a rather detailed description of the "youthful type of character," part of which resembles descriptive statements that could have been written by G. Stanley Hall or Arnold Gesell. "Young men have strong passions and tend to gratify them indiscriminately. Of the bodily desires, it is the sexual by which they are most swayed and in which they show absence of self-control" (Aristotle, 1941d:1403). Sexuality in adolescence is of concern in any contemporary text whether theoretically, empirically or clinically oriented. Among the more recent theoretical positions, Otto Rank in particular describes promiscuity as an adolescent defense mechanism against sexual urges. Aristotle in his description of the adolescent commented on their instability: "They are changeable and fickle in their desires, which are violent while they last, but quickly over: their impulses are keen but not deep-rooted" (Aristotle, 1941d:1403). Lewin and Barker among the contemporary writers deal with the instability of the psychological field of the adolescent since he stands in a psycological no-man's-land. This makes many sociopsychological situations unclear, indefinite, and ambiguous, and the resulting behavior is "changeable and fickle." "For owing to their love and honour they cannot bear being slighted, and are indignant if they imagine themselves being unfairly treated" (Aristotle, 1941d: 1403-1404). Adolescent complaints about being "unfairly treated" in home, school, and society in general are so common today that they need no further elaboration. The list of quotes from *Rhetorica* in which Aristotle described the characteristics of adolescence could be continued at length, and other analogies to contemporary theory, observation and empirical data would not be too difficult to find. Aristotle discussed, among other issues, adolescents' desire for success, their optimism, trust, concern with the future rather than the past, their courage, conformity, idealism, friendship, aggressiveness, and gullibility.

The education of the adolescent in the fourth century B. C. was based on the study of mathematics and included astronomy, geometry, and the theory of music; these subjects taught abstraction but did not require the life experiences and the wisdom that were considered necessary in order to become a philosopher or a physicist.

Under the early impact of Christian theology, Aristotelian thought seemed to get lost; however, it was later combined with Christian ideas by Saint Thomas Aquinas. The Aristotelian Thomistic philosophy became dominant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its influence was felt during the Middle Ages--particularly in the form of scholasticism. Aristotle is also considered as influential in laying the foundation for a more scientific approach to science and psychology.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN VIEW OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The theological view of human nature and development cannot as readily be

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identified in terms of one man, a specific historical period, or even a particular church. We find the idea of original sin expressed by Tertullian in the second century when he speaks of the depravity of human nature. It was emphasized by John Calvin in the sixteenth century and is prevalent in Catholic scholasticism, Protestant Calvinism, and American Puritanism.

The theological view of human nature and development as found in the medieval-early Reformation period encompassed several ideas relevant to our topic:

1) Man's unique position in the universe, being created in the image of God.
2) Man's evil due to Adam's original sin.
3) Man's dualistic nature, a spiritual, immortal soul and a material, mortal body, Salvation and the life after death places the immortal soul on a higher level of importance.
4) Knowledge as revealed to man from without. It comes from God and is revealed to us through the Bible.
5) The homunculus idea of instantaneous creation. The last point is not so much biblical as medieval.

Most of these ideas can be found in biblical sources, but they were also influenced by Greek philosophy, especially Plato's dualism. We will see later that theories that followed in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, especially those advanced by Locke, Rousseau and Darwin, can partly be understood as antitheses to these earlier theological ideas.

The idea that God created man in his own image and thus gave him a unique position in the universe is expressed in Genesis 1:27-28: "And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them." Furthermore, he gives them the power to rule over all living creatures. Prior to Darwin man was seen as being divinely created and basically different from the animal world.

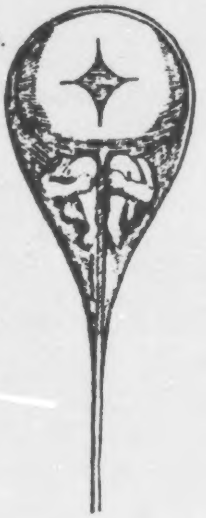
The second important idea concerning the nature of man is the theological doctrine of human depravity. The human being is seen as having innate tendencies toward ungodliness and sinfulness. Man is fundamentally bad, and his badness becomes stronger during the developmental years if it is not counteracted by stern discipline. The idea of original sin as based on Genesis 3: 6-7 relates the sinfulness of each individual to Adam's first sin. And "as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned...Yet death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam..." (Romans 5: 12-14).

This pessimistic view of human nature prevalent in Catholic theology before the Reformation, received a new impetus with Calvin's theology and thus set the intellectual climate for Puritanism. The educational objective in this theory was to bring forth the innate ideas that are God given--knowledge of his laws and commands. Such a stern disciplinary approach to education was prevalent under the influence of Catholic scholasticism and Calvinism in Europe and Puritanism in New England. There was little room for individual differences, since the quality of the mind was the same for all individuals and the child who failed to learn was seen as willfully resisting the efforts of the teacher. The role of the teacher was defined by his authority and a belief that learning could be facilitated by physical punishment. The role of the child was defined by obedience. Calvin in particular expressed a strong faith in the value of education.

The theological point of view that man is the result of instantaneous creation results in preformationist thinking (Ausubel, 1958). During the Dark Ages, it was believed that the child came into the world as a miniature adult. The difference between a child and an adult was considered to be only a quantitative one, not a qualitative one. Therefore, girls wore long dresses and corsets of adult style, only smaller in size, as is obvious from many medieval paintings. The qualitative difference in body build, body function and mental abilities was disregarded. Growth was understood to be only a quantitative increase of all physical and mental aspects of human nature, not a qualitative one. This is a regression of thought when contrasted with the logical theories of Plato and Aristotle. The theory of preformationism held that children had the same interests as adults and therefore should be treated correspondingly, which meant that adult requirements were put upon them and were enforced by stern discipline. According to this view, the child did not "develop," since he was preformed. Figure 1 illustrates the homunculus concept; it represents a view of the preformed "little man" in the sperm as conceived by seventeenth-century scientists. This idea of "homunculism" was utilized in prescientific theory of embryology.

> "It was seriously believed that a miniature but full-formed little man (i.e., an homunculus) was embodied in the sperm, and when implanted in the uterus simply grew in bulk, without any differentiation of tissues or organs, until full-term fetal size was attained at the end of nine months."
>
> (Ausubel,1958:23-24)

This idea of homunculism was soon to be challenged by the beginning of modern science and advancements in the field of medicine. It was learned that the young child has qualitative and quantitative characteristics of his own and is not a miniature adult.



Adapted from Hartsoecker, 1694.

FIGURE 1

Drawing of a small man (that is, a homunculus) in a human spermatozoon.

One might speculate that the reason for the limited concern of pre-Hallian writers with the basic physiological changes that take place during pubescence--many of these changes are obvious to the keen observer, and their detection does not require medical knowledge or technology--is due to the theoretical position that the child is a miniature adult. If one were to accept this point of view, then it follows that there should be no difference in the physiological functions of the child and the adult. In the philosophical realm it was Rousseau who stated that "nature would have children be children before being man. If we wish to prevent this order, we shall produce precocious fruits which will have neither maturity nor flavor, and will speedily deteriorate; we shall have young doctors and old children " (Rousseau, 1911:54). Thus a new conception of human nature contributed to a more scientific concept of growth and development.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS' DEVELOPMENT-CENTERED THEORY OF EDUCATION

The Renaissance may be seen as a revolt against authoritarianism in church, school, and society. The Aristotelian logic, the presupposition of universal ideas, and scholasticism in general were challenged by Erasmus and Vives. Vives felt that one had "to begin with the individual facts of experience and out of them to come to ideas by the natural logic of the mind" (Boyd, 1965:179). Learning was no longer seen as a deductive process, but as an inductive process beginning with experiences, and he suggested than an understanding of the learning process came from psychology. Learning, it was believed, was determined by the mind of the learner, and, therefore, education became concerned with individuality in pupils.

Comenius (1592-1670) accepted these new ideas of the Renaissance, combined them with Aristotle's classification of development, and advanced a theory of education that was based on psychological assumptions. In his *Great Didactic* first published in 1657 Comenius suggested a school organization based on a theory of development. Rather than dividing the developmental period into three stages of seven years, as Aristotle did, Comenius proposed four developmental stages of six years each and a different kind of school for each of these four stages.

The suggested school organization was based on assumptions concerning the nature of human development and a specific theory of learning, that of faculty psychology. Interestingly enough, present-day school organization in parts of the United States closely resembles this pattern. Comenius argued that the temporal sequence of the curriculum content should be borrowed from nature; in other words, it should be suitable to the psychological development of the child. "Let our maxim be to follow the lead of nature in all things, to observe how the faculties develop one after the other, and to base our methods on this principle of succession" (Comenius, 1923:257).

The child in the first six years of his life learns at home in the mother-school at his mother's knee. He should exercise the external senses and learn to discriminate among the various objects around him. The nature of the development of the faculty of sense perception is such that it precedes all other faculties, and, consequently, sensory experiences and sensory knowledge should be provided first. The significance of early sensorimotor experiences is emphasized in Piaget's contemporary theory of development.

The child from six to twelve attends the vernacular-school and receives a general well-rounded elementary education, which is provided for all children, rich or poor, boy or girl. Included in the curriculum are the correct use of the vernacular language, social habits and religious training. The program at this level would emphasize training of the "internal senses, the imagination and memory in combination with their cognate organs." Comenius accepted the faculty psychology point of view in respect to memory. "The memory should be exercised in early youth, since practice developes it, and we should therefore take care to practice it as much as possible. Now, in youth, labour is not felt, and thus the memory developes without any trouble and becomes very retentive." (Comenius, 1923:152).

For the next six years, from twelve to eighteen, which includes the adolescent period as we understand it today, education was to be provided in the Latin school. The psychological purpose of the school at this age was to train the faculty of reasoning. The student learned to "understand and pass judgment on the information collected by the senses." Included were judgments about relationships of the things perceived, imagined, and remembered. Understanding here implies utilization of the principle of causality. The curriculum of the school was divided into six years, which results in the following six classes: Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Ethics, Dialectics, and Rhetoric.

The following six years from eighteen to twenty-four consist of university education and travel, and during this period the faculty of the will is trained. Considering our present conception of will this appears to be a strange notion and becomes more meaningful only if we consider that the concept of will, as used by Comenius, includes the self-direction of one's life. Corresponding ideas can be found in the contemporary theories of Erikson and Nixon.

Comenius strongly advocated that the instructional procedure should fit the level of comprehension of the child in contrast to the scholastic education, which he attacked. For Comenius, development is not uniform, continuous, and gradual--as the homunculus theory of development implies--but each stage of development has its own characteristics, "teachable moments" as Havighurst would say today. Development was seen as a process in which the intellectual functions gain progressively more control over the other aspects of the soul.

> "To attempt to cultivate the will before the intellect (or the intellect before the imagination, or the imagination before the faculty of sense perception) is

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> mere waste of time. But this is what those do who teach boys logic, poetry, rhetoric, and ethics before they are thoroughly acquainted with the objects that surround them. It would be equally sensible to teach boys of two years old to dance, though they can scarcely walk."
>
> (Comenius, 1923:257)

The right time for the education of each of the faculties must be chosen correctly, and the sequence must be "borrowed from nature." In Comenius' continuous focus on what children can do, know, and are interested in at each stage of development, we seem to find the historical roots of a child-centered theory of education.

JOHN LOCKE'S EMPIRICISM

The idea of homunculism with its emphasis on preformationism and Plato's theory of innate ideas--a basic scholastic principle--was most seriously challenged and opposed by John Locke (1632-1704). Locke was influenced by Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) idea that the human being, both body and mind, is part of the natural order; he further expanded Hobbes' theoretical position, known today as empiricism, that all of our knowledge is derived from sensation. Hobbes stated in *Leviathan* that "there is no conception in man's mind, which has not at first totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense" (Hobbes, 1651:7). Locke further developed the theory that there are no innate ideas; ideas that we hold in our consciousness are either obtained through our senses directly or are derived from those ideas that have been obtained through sensations previously. The child's mind at the time of birth is, according to an analogy used by Locke, a tabula rasa, a blank tablet. He made the following famous statement concerning the nature of the human mind:

> "Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas:--How comes it to be furnished?...To this I answer, in one word, from EXPERIENCE. In that all our knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation employed either, about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring."
>
> (Locke, 1753:76)

This assumption has had far-reaching influence in social theory and has with amplification become the cornerstone of democracy. Since the mind of each person at birth is a tabula rasa, all ideas and knowledge that men have come from experience; since present differences and inequalities that can be found in people are due to environment and experiences, men are completely equal at birth.
Thus the principle of democracy is in part derived from a philosophical-psychological theory concerning the

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child's mind at birth. Locke discussed his views concerning democracy in *Treatise of Civil Government* (1768). He blamed environmental conditions, such as poor education and poor social environment, for the human misery in the world and gave hope to those who lived under unfavorable conditions. Thus emerged a theory that is an expression of faith in the perfectibility of the human race.

Locke found rather enthusiastic followers in Helvetius and Condillac in France. They carried his empiricism to its extreme, since for them even the powers of faculties of the mind were the result of sensation. Furthermore, since poor living conditions existed for the French lower and middle classes prior to the Revolution, many people in France were especially susceptible to such ideas. Thus the words *liberte, egalite, fraternite* became the powerful symbols of a new concept of human nature. A new hope emerged: that by changing the environment, human nature could be changed. Mankind could determine its own destiny.

Locke's proposition that there are no innate ideas and that the human mind is a tabula rasa contrasts sharply with several theories of human development already discussed. The more outstanding examples are:

1. The doctrine of human depravity and original sin appeared to be in open contradiction to Locke's new concept of the human mind. If our mind is formed by experience only, then it follows that whether a child becomes "good" or "bad" is due to environmental experiences. Locke's psychology stresses nurture rather than nature.

2. The medieval class system of Europe was based on what we would consider today as hereditary assumptions. The nobility was noble by birth, regardless of personal merits and qualities. This notion was challenged by the empiricist assumption that "all men are born equal." If everyone is alike and begins life at the same point, then everyone should have the same rights and opportunities to obtain better social position. King and subject, rich and poor, begin life at the same zero point. Therefore, support for social mobility is found in this theory. Locke's early form of environmentalism, even though it is not directly related to behaviorism, social learning theory, and cultural relativism, may be viewed as a historical forerunner to these schools of thought.

3. The doctrine of innate ideas was interpreted during the medieval period to imply that the child is a miniature adult and grows only quantitatively. Locke's tabula rasa concept implied that the child at birth is fundamentally different from the adult both qualitatively and quantitatively. If ideas are not innate, then the newborn child is radically different from the adult in respect to intellectual properties. Locke pointed out that the child's personality is basically different from that of the adult and thus laid the foundation for a new theory of child development; he also urged the scientific study of human nature. Development, he believed, occurred in a gradual process from mental passivity in the early years of childhood to increased mental activity in adolescence. The rational faculty emerges toward the end of this developmental process and therefore was seen

as characteristic of the period of adolescence. Locke himself, even though he advanced many important ideas about human nature, foreshadowed rather than developed a specific theory of human development. It was Rousseau who, influenced by Locke, proposed a new theory of human development.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU'S ROMANTIC NATURALISM

Rousseau (1712-1778) was greatly influenced by Locke's ideas, but he developed his own theoretical positions concerning human nature. While for Locke reason was the most important aspect of human nature, Rousseau considered human nature as primarily feeling. While Locke was concerned with constitutional government, Rousseau made a great plea for individualism and individual freedom and directed his criticism and attack against society and social institutions. Although he, too, was concerned with the social well-being of all, he distinguished between the "will of all" (majority will, determined by vote) and the "general will" (that which is really best for every member of the society). Rousseau was not truly democratic, for he was afraid that a majority vote could be as bad as any monarchy. Ideally, the majority will and the general will would coincide. This however, was only possible if men were educated and wise.

Rousseau brought about a revolutionary change in thought concerning the nature of human development with its corresponding educational implications, the main ideas of which he expressed in *Emile*, originally published in 1780. The traditional approach toward childhood education had been to see the child from the adult point of view, adult interests, and adult social life. Rousseau claimed that such an approach is not only false, it may even be harmful. He started with the needs and interests of the child and saw development as a natural preplanned process. If one were to free the child from the restrictions, unnatural limitations, and rigid discipline of the adult world, nature would assure a harmonious and healthy development. The child was innately good, but the restrictions of adult society and poor education had corrupted the child. To correct this, he advocated a natural development in a sound and healthy environment, which for him was one that posed few restrictions on the child, especially in the first twelve years. Rousseau was one of the strongest proponents of individualism in education, basing his proposition on a deep faith in the natural good of man.

Rousseau advocated a revision of the treatment children received at home and in school as well as changes in the methods of instruction; if development were left to the laws of nature, the outcome would be most desirable. Each of Rousseau's four stages of development had specific psychological characteristics. Consideration of these characteristics resulted in definite educational objectives, the attainment of which helped children grow toward maturity. The educational methods, the content to be taught and the educational objectives at each age level are to be determined by the characteristics of the child at that developmental level.

Learning was most effective if the child had freedom and could learn and grow according to his own impulses.

Rousseau (1780) most strongly opposed the homunculus idea and asserted that it was the plan of nature that children play, live, and behave like children before they become adults. "Childhood has its own way of seeing, thinking, and feeling, and nothing is more foolish than to try to substitute ours for them" (Rousseau, 1911:54). Rousseau advised teachers and parents, "You ought to be wholly absorbed in the child--observing him, watching him without respite, and without seeming to do so, having a presentiment of his feelings in advance" (Rousseau, 1911:169). Even though Rousseau himself had only limited and not always successful educational experiences--his five children lived in a foundling asylum--his theory had a tremendous impact on educational practice in the latter part of the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries. Rousseau's ideas are obvious in the works of Pestalozzi, Froebel, Basedow, Spencer, Horace Mann, and Dewey and are reflected in a child-centered approach to education.

Rousseau, like Aristotle, saw the development of the child occurring in certain stages--however, he identified four stages rather than three--and believed that teaching and training should be in harmony with the developmental nature of each of these stages. According to Rousseau, these various stages are breaks in the developmental process, and each can be distinguished by its special characteristics and functions. He spoke of a metamorphosis that takes place when the child changes from one stage to another. Thus, Rousseau introduced a saltatory theory of human development according to which the nature of development is seen as change that is more sudden at certain age levels than at others. He, like G. Stanley Hall, spoke of puberty as a new birth. New functions may emerge rather suddenly and become dominant in the psychological organization. We might better understand this saltatory aspect of development in Rousseau's theory in the light of his own temperamental saltatory experiences.

The first stage, that of infancy, includes the first four to five years of life. The child is dominated by the feeling of pleasure and pain. This period is called the animal stage, because the child is like an animal in regard to its physical needs and undifferentiated feelings. This notion we encountered earlier in the writings of Aristotle. Education, such as training motor coordination, sense perception, and feeling, is primarily physical. He advocated to mothers that the method of nature be followed in everything and proposed the following rule: "Observe nature, and follow the route which she traces for you. She is ever exciting children to activity; she hardens the constitution by trials of every sort; she teaches them at an early hour what suffering and pain are."

The second stage, which Rousseau characterized as the savage stage, includes the years from from five to twelve. Dominant during this stage is the faculty of sense. Sensory experiences are provided by play, sport, and games, and the curriculum is centered on the training of the senses. During this stage self-consciousness and memory develop, and human life in the proper sense begins here. The child still lacks reasoning ability and is not yet sufficiently aware of moral considerations. Education during this stage should be free from external, social, and moral control. Formal training in reading and writing are seen as harmful and therefore postponed until the beginning of the third developmental stage. In the first twelve years education

> "...ought to be purely negative. It consists not at all in teaching virtues or truth, but in shielding the heart from vice, and the mind from error. If you could do nothing and allow nothing to be done, if you could bring your pupil sound and robust to the age of twelve years without his being able to distinguish his right hand from his left, from your very first lesson the eyes of his understanding would be open to reason."
>
> (Rousseau, 1911:59)

Rousseau's method of "negative education," based on the assumption that there is an innate developmental plan in the organization that cannot be improved upon by environmental factors, finds its corresponding modern psychological concept in "maturation." The defenders of the maturational concept of development frequently advocate, as did Rousseau, a permissive and unrestricted atmosphere for childrearing.

The third stage, from the age of twelve to fifteen, is characterized by an awakening of the rational functions, including reason and self-consciousness. Youth at this age possess an enormous amount of physical energy and strength. The excess of energy leads to curiosity, which the school curriculum should utilize by encouraging exploratory behavior and the desire to discover what is true about the world. The only book that should be read during this stage is *Robinson Crusoe*. Rousseau saw in Crusoe the great model and ideal for the preadolescent, since his style of life was characterized by exploration of the world and a primitive curiosity and corresponds to the needs and interests of this developmental stage. The curriculum should be geared to the study of nature, astronomy, science, art, and crafts. Rousseau in agreement with contemporary educational theory emphasizes the learning process rather than the product. "He is not to learn science, he is to find out for himself." This is the age of reason; curiosity and personal utility are the main motives for behavior; social conscience and emotionality are still undeveloped. It is interesting to observe that, in opposition to other developmental theories, the rational aspect of personality develops prior to the emotional. Rousseau's theory was a reaction to the historically earlier philosophy of rationalism. Modern theory of personality stratification sees in emotionality the deeper and therefore the historically and developmentally earlier layer of personality.

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The fourth period, adolescence proper, from the age of fifteen to twenty, finally culminates in the maturation of the emotional functions and brings about a change from selfishness to self-esteem and social consideration. The adolescent is no longer self-sufficient but develops a strong interest in other people and a need for genuine affection. This stage is characterized--late by comparison to knowledge about youth today--but the emergence of the sex drive, which Rousseau considered a second birth. "We have two births, so to speak--one for existing and the other for living; one for the species and the other for the sex" (Rousseau, 1911:193). Now conscience is acquired, and morals and virtues become possible. This is the period of preparation for marriage, which ideally coincides with the attainment of maturity.

Maturity could be considered as a fifth stage in the process, but it appears to be less clearly defined. The faculty that becomes dominant during this period is will. Comenius also placed the development of the will at the time of late adolescence. The will is the faculty of the soul by which we choose between two alternatives.

These stages of development, according to Rousseau, correspond to certain stages in the development of the human race. Thus it was assumed by this recapitulation theory that the human race had gone through the stages of animallike living, the stage of savagery, the stage of reason, and finally, through a stage of social and emotional maturity. He used the historical development of the race in order to explain the development of the individual child. This hypothesis was taken up again and further developed by educators, such as Froebel and Ziller, as well as by G. Stanley Hall and the Child Study Movement of America.

Critics have pointed out that Rousseau overemphasized the individual nature of human growth and development and underemphasized the importance that education, society, and culture have in the developmental process and especially in the formation of the human personality. He saw the influence of society and culture as negative forces in personality development; he wanted to remove them to make possible the free natural development of what is good in the child.

CHARLES DARWIN'S THEORY OF BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

A new trend of thought concerning the nature of development emerged with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). Darwin's (1809-1882) idea of evolution--growth and development from the simpler to the more complex forms of organic life--has been one of the most revolutionary and influential ideas in man's thinking about himself and the nature of his development. Every living organism from the simplest organic structure to the most complex, man himself, is brought together under the order of natural explanation. The psychological implications resulting from this biological concept of development were accepted, elaborated, and applied to adolescent development by G. Stanley Hall, thus leading to a science of adolescent development.

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Since Darwin's theory is well known, only its basic principles will be stated. Darwin collected substantial, though not complete, evidence for a theory that claimed that the evolution of biological life is continuous, from a single-cell organism, through numerous higher developmental stages, to the complexity of human mind and body. This evolutionary theory assumed variability and adjustability in all organisms as well as the overproduction of offspring of each species. Darwin showed that the overproduction of offspring threatened their capacity to survive. The result is a "struggle for existence." In this struggle of the selection of some and the elimination of others, a "natural selection process" takes place by which the increase in population is checked. The stronger, healthier, faster, more immune, more intelligent, and physically better developed and adjusted organisms survive and reproduce, while the weak, sick, and less adaptable species perish. In time this leads to the "survival of the fittest." The qualities that account for the survival of the fittest are inherited by the offspring. Since the conditions for survival frequently differ in various kinds of environments, basic changes in the organism occur. Thus in the selection process, variations, new kinds, new races, and eventually new organisms come into existence. This process began with the simple one-cell organism and from the lower forms of organic life more and more complex forms have developed. The last link in this biological evoluation is the human being. Since climatic, geological, and general life conditions change, the evolutionary process is a perpetual one.

This theory of evolution is in complete contrast to the theological doctrine of the divine creation of each individual. Through Darwin's theory, man was placed in the order of nature. Most theological and many philosophical positions previous to Darwin's--for example, that of Aristotle--had postulated an essential dichotomy between man and nature. This absolute distinction between human nature and the nature of the organic world was seriously challenged by Darwin. Man was now seen as part of the organic world, albeit a more advanced and more intelligent species.

G. STANLEY HALL'S BIOGENETIC PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE.

G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924) was the first psychologist to advance a psychology of adolescence in its own right and to use scientific methods in his study of adolescence. It can be said that he bridged the philosophical, speculative approach of the past and the scientific, empirical approach of the present.

Hall expanded Darwin's concept of biological "evolution" into a psychological theory of recapitulation. In this theory he stated that the experiential history of the human species had become part of the genetic structure of each individual. The law of recapitulation asserted that the individual organism, during its development, passes through stages that correspond to those that occurred during the history of mankind. That is, the individual relives the development of the human race from early animallike primitivism, through a period of savagery, to the more

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recent civilized ways of life that characterize maturity.

Hall assumed that development is brought about by physiological factors. He further assumed that these physiological factors are genetically determined, that internal maturational forces predominantly control and direct development, growth and behavior; there was little room in this theory for the influence of environmental forces. It follows that development and its behavioral concomitants occur in an inevitable and unchangeable pattern that is universal, regardless of the sociocultural environment. Cultural anthropologists and sociologists were able to challenge this point and to show that Hall's position was extreme and untenable in the light of accumulated evidence. They further refuted the claim that the behavioral predispositions of physiological drives, as expressed in the recapitulation theory, are highly specific. Hall held that socially unacceptable types of behavior--those characteristics of earlier historical phases--must be tolerated by parents and educators, since they are necessary stages in social development. He advocated childrearing practices of leniency and permissiveness. However, he reassured parents and educators that unacceptable behavior would disappear in the following developmental stage without any corrective educational or disciplinary efforts. Remnants of this assumption can be found in Gesell's conception of maturation.

A corollary of Hall's theory of recapitulation is his concept of stages of human development; the characteristics of a certain age in the development of the individual correspond to some primitive historical stage in the development of the human race. Hall did not divide human development into three stages as advocated by Aristotle and many present-day "stage" psychologists. He followed a four-division pattern similar to that proposed by Comenius and Rousseau. Hall's developmental stages are infancy, childhood, youth, and adolescence.

The period of infancy includes the first four years of life. While the child is still crawling, he is reenacting the animal stage of the human race when the species was still using four legs. During this period, sensory development is dominant; the child acquires those sensorimotor skills that are necessary for self-preservation.

The period of childhood--the years from from four to eight--correspond to the cultural epoch when hunting and fishing were the main activities of man. This is the time when the child plays hide-and-seek, cowboys and Indians, uses toy weapons, and so on. The building of caves, shacks, and the other hiding places parallels the cave-dwelling culture of early history.

Youth--from eight to twelve--includes the period that today is commonly referred to as "preadolescence." During this stage the child recapitulates the "humdrum life of savagery" of several thousand years ago. This is the period of life when the child has a favorable predisposition to practice and discipline, when routine training and drill are most appropriate.

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> Never again will there be such susceptibility to drill and discipline, such plasticity to habituation, or such ready adjustment to new conditions. It is the age of external and mechanical training. Reading, writing, drawing, manual training, musical technic, foreign tongues and their pronunciation, the manipulation of numbers and of geometrical elements, and many kinds of skill have now their golden hour, and if it passes unimproved, all these can never be acquired later without a heavy handicap or disadvantage or loss.
>
> (Hall, 1916:xii)

Adolescence is the period from puberty (about twelve or thirteen) until full adult status has been attained. According to Hall, it ends comparatively late, between the twenty-second and twenty-fifth years. Hall described adolescence as a period of *Sturm und Drang*, "storm and stress." In German literature, the period of *Sturm und Drang* includes, among others, the works of Schiller and the early writings of Goethe. It is a literary movement full of idealism, commitment to a goal, revolution against the old, expression of personal feelings, passion and suffering. Hall saw an analogy between the objectives of this group of young writers.at the turn of the eighteenth century and the psychological characteristics of adolescence. In terms of the recapitulation theory adolescence corresponds to a time when the human race was in a turbulent, transitional stage. Hall described adolescence as a new birth, "for the higher and more completely human traits are now born" (Hall, 1916:xiii).

The characteristics of adolescent *Sturm und Drang* are pictured in detail by Hall in the chapter "Feelings and Psychic Evolution." He perceived the emotional life of the adolescent as an oscillation between contradictory tendencies. Energy, exaltation, and supernatural activity are followed by indifference, lethargy, and loathing. Exuberant gaiety, laughter, and euphoria make place for dysphoria, depressive gloom, and melancholy. Egoism, vanity, and conceit are just as characteristic of this period of life as are abasement, humiliation, and bashfulness. One can observe both the remnants of an uninhibited childish selfishness and an increasing idealistic altruism. Goodness and virtue are never so pure, but never again does temptation so forcefully preoccupy thought. The adolescent wants solitude and seclusion, while he finds himself entangled in crushes and friendships. Never again does the peer group have such a strong influence over him. At one time he may exhibit exquisite sensitivity and tenderness; at another time, callousness and cruelty. Apathy and inertia vacillate with an enthusiastic curiosity, an urge to discover and explore. There is a yearning for idols and authority that does exclude a revolutionary radicalism directed against any kind of authority. Hall (1916) implies these antithetical impulses of Promethean enthusiasm and deep sentimental *Weltschmerz* in his use of the concept of *Sturm und Drang*, which for him is so characteristic of the adolescent.

In late adolescence the individual recapitulates the stage of the beginning of modern civilization. This stage corresponds to the end of the developmental process: he reaches maturity. Hall's genetic psychology did not see the human being as the final and finished product of the developmental process; it allowed for indefinite further development.

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THEORIES OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

by

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THEORIES OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

It will be evident, from the other chapters in this book and from the literature in general, that an abundance of empirical data has been accumulated and that adolescence has been accepted as a clearly delineated and important period. Yet, theory has taken a less central place in the research and discussions on adolescence than it has in the study of other phases of human development. One reason for this might be that the study of human development reaches its most complex stage during adolescence. In most societies, the onset of puberty is marked by pronounced changes in many areas of functioning. Although the rate of change varies from area to area and from individual to individual, by and large, the human being at this stage of development poses a problem to himself, to his family, and to the larger group of which he is to become a member. Biologically, intellectually, the adolescent approaches maturity at a rather rapid rate. Psychologically and socially, he often interrupts the course of gradual development and deviates in a variety of ways both from his somewhat younger peers and from his elders. This disparity in the rate and direction of change between adolescence and the other phases of development also presents special problems when one attempts to integrate the data contributed from differing disciplines, such as biology, psychology, and sociology. However, the very difficulties that have interfered with the formulation of theories of adolescence point clearly toward the need for a theoretical framework which will make the disparities and deviations that characterize development during adolescence meaningful and predictable.

The different theories of adolescence to be discussed in this chapter will be grouped as follows: biological, psychological, psychosocial, sociological, psychoanalytic, and anthropological. Since the limitations of space do not permit an exhaustive discussion of the several theories (as in Ausubel, 1954; Blos, 1962; and Muuss, 1962), an attempt will be made here to reduce the overlap and repetition which exist in abundance from theory to theory, and to highlight instead the unique features of each.

BIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF ADOLESCENCE

Practically all theories which we will undertake to examine accept adolescence as a unique phase in human development and agree on the central biological and physical changes of puberty which mark its onset. However, they differ widely with regard to the importance and influence of these biological changes on the psychological processes. Furthermore, there is a frequent use of the same, or very similar empirical facts, as evidence for, or illustrative of, quite different theoretical models.

HALL: RECAPITULATION

It is of historical interest that the father of a "psychology of adolescence," namely G. Stanley Hall (1916), was also the founder of the approach to adolescence as a separate and distinct phase in human development. Following Darwin's concept of evolution,

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Hall introduced a theory of recapitulation which assumed that the experiential history of the race becomes a part of the genetic constitution of the individual. According to this view, each individual passes through stages which repeat the history of mankind. The direction of development in general, and of adolescence in particular, is thus seen as essentially controlled by internal forces.

In animals, phylogeny is recapitulated before birth. In human beings, infancy represents a reenactment of the prehistoric stages of the human race. During infancy, the development of vegetative, sensory, and motor functions are dominant. The early part of middle childhood represents a reenactment of the cave-dwelling culture of early history. The later part, namely preadolescence, which lasts from eight to twelve years of age, parallels that phase of early history at which discipline marked the major progress of mankind. At this stage of development, the child is amenable to mechanical training; that is, training which involves those skills necessary for sensory, motor, perceptual, and cognitive functioning. Adolescence itself is a period of rebellion, which, in terms of recapitulation, corresponds to a time when the human race was in a transitional stage. Historically, Hall chose *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress) as the model for temperament and mentality that characterizes adolescence. Furthermore, adolescence is frequently characterized by extremely contradictory tendencies which make this phase of development one of instability and one in which the individual may fluctuate between emotional, social, and ideological extremes. Thus, it is only in late adolescence that the individual begins to settle down and reach his maturity. This phase of development represents a recapitulation of the beginning of modern civilization.

Since Hall considered adolescence, as he considered all other stages of development, to be primarily biologically determined, there was little room in his system for environmental factors to influence adolescent phenomena. Consistent with this point of view, Hall considered it best not to interfere with the natural course of development, since he believed it to be inevitable and determined by inner forces.

Hall might be taken as a prototype of those later biological approaches to human development which assume, in a general way, that the direction of psychological development recapitulates the evolutionary development of the strata in the human brain. A common characteristic shared by these biological approaches is that they do not postulate basic psychological principles for predicting developmental changes. The only principles provided to account for such changes are drawn from biology and biogenesis. For the realm of psychological development, these theories provide descriptive concepts for the ordering of the experiences and behaviors that characterize each of the successive stages of development.

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GESELL: MORPHOGENESIS AND SPIRAL GROWTH

Arnold Gesell is best known for his observational work on human development from birth to adolescence (1940, 1946b, 1956). His descriptions of age trends have been accepted by many parents in the United States as norms of what to expect in their developing children. Gesell's biological orientation, with respect to the predetermined stages of maturation, reflects rather clearly the points made in the previous paragraph. On a level of theory, Gesell offered the general formulation that mental growth is a progressive morphogenesis, that is, a process of differentiation and integration. According to this view, environmental factors may facilitate or inhibit growth; but the basic direction of growth is laid down by maturational forces. In order to account for changes between developmental stages, Gesell employs the model of a spiral (1946a). Growth consists of oscillation along a spiral course toward maturity. The child frequently reverts to earlier forms of behavior before he is able to surpass his previous performance. Thus, progression and partial regression, until further progression takes place, characterize the course of developmental change.

Like Hall, Gesell saw adolescence as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. Unlike Hall he did not conceive of adolescence as a period of storm, contradictions, and extremes. However, in his generalizations which are derived from his empirical observations, Gesell does place stress on the differences which appear in the adolescent from year to year. This is really similar to Hall's *Sturm und Drang*--an aspect of development which Gesell had deemphasized in his theorizing. The ten year old is described as stable, well-adjusted to his family, and altogether fond of company. At the same time, he is intrigued by secret societies and is supersensitive to the fairness of adult authority. With regard to peers, he prefers to associate with his own sex. In contrast to the ten year old, the eleven year old is moody, quarrelsome, rebellious, and argumentative. This turbulence has disappeared in the twelve year old who is more sensible and tolerant than he was at eleven. The twelve year old is concerned with social recognition and more interested in the opposite sex. This greater peace with social environment changes again at thirteen. The thirteen year old turns inward; he is more critical of himself and his family. In line with his rapidly changing body structure and body chemistry, he is more tense, more aware of himself, and less secure than he was in the preceding year. At fourteen, the adolescent goes through a phase of reversal toward extroversion and frequently becomes enthusiastic. He is self-confident and more at ease with himself. He has begun to make definite choices of his ego ideals, and he identifies closely with his heroes from folklore and from other sources. This trend is again reversed in the fifteen year old, who manifests increased tension, hostility, and rebellion against authority. He is again self-conscious and, in addition, perfectionistic. The rebellious trend at this age level makes the youth vulnerable to delinquency, particularly because he is eager to move away from home and to disassociate himself from family and authority. In sharp contrast to the picture presented by the fifteen year old, the sixteen year old gives evidence of emotional integration and balance, a high degree of social adjustment and self-control. He is friendly, outgoing, and independent in a self-confident sort of way.

The foregoing brief descriptions indicate that adolescence is conceived of as a phase of glaring contradictions within adjacent age levels with alternating stages of calmness and storm. They also reflect normative generalizations with regard to restricted age levels. These cannot be easily conceptualized in terms of the relative effects of biological, psychological, and cultural factors. It is for these reasons, together with the inferences that parents have drawn with respect to the meaning of their child's deviations from the norms, that Gesell came under the fire of considerable criticism. Notwithstanding such hazards, and in spite of the methodological criticism justly leveled against Gesell's work, he has provided us with a host of ideas which provide fertile ground for conceptual probing and empirical research.

KRETSCHMER: BODY TYPES

A different biological approach to adolescent development has been formulated by the followers of Ernst Kretschmer (1951). They have employed his theory of body types to explain the direction of developmental change. Kretschmer focuses our attention on three basic body types: the pyknic, athletic and asthenic. He held that each of the body types represents a predisposition to certain major psychological tendencies. For example, schizoid tendencies are said to appear more frequently in people with slender and tall or athletic body build, whereas manic-depressive or cycloid tendencies are said to appear more frequently in people with a stocky body constitution. Adolescence was characterized by Kretschmer's followers as a developmental phase with "schizoid" characteristics. Moreover, the degree of turbulence experienced by the adolescent was hypothesized to be correlated with his body type. This means that a youth with a lean and slender body type would already have a tendency toward a schizoid personality and would therefore experience adolescence as a turbulent period. A child with a stocky body constitution, who is inclined toward cycloid personality characteristics, would not experience adolescence as a very disturbing phase in his development. There is, as yet, very little empirical evidence to support or refute these speculative assertions.

ZELLER: BODY GESTALT

The approach of Wilfried Zeller, a follower of Kretschmer, is actually closer to the theorizing of Gesell since Zeller (1951) postulates relationships between changes in body constitution and changes in psychological functions. For each stage in psychological development, there is a specific *body gestalt* (body gestalt refers to the total structure and composition of the body) that corresponds to it. Although changes appear most clearly in one or another of the body areas, functions, or organs, Zeller emphasized that

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these changes only signify a total change of the body gestalt, which would also be reflected by a similar change in the psychological sphere. For example, children lose their first tooth and gain their first permanent tooth between five and one-half and six and one-half. Such a specific change is indicative of a much broader change in both the physique and personality of the child. This change also coincides with the child's introduction to formal schooling. Similarly, the appearance of secondary sex characteristics at puberty (see Garrison's discussion within this volume) involves a much broader more comprehensive change of the body structure and hormonal dominance. The broader change in body structure ture is a beginning disharmony that occurs at the onset of the pubertal phase. In early adolescence this increased disharmony of the body gestalt is reflected in a sudden increase of impulsivity, nervousness, and a more critical attitude. This is directed at the adolescent's body, as well as toward his inner psychological world. Zeller presents a number of empirical observations in support of his theory. He maintains that changes in body gestalt cannot be measured totally by means of quantitative methods. Certain aspects of these changes are qualitative, and for that reason the observer has to rely on intuitive judgments to grasp changes in the gestalt quality. It is interesting to note in this context that Sheldon (1940) has made similar statements with regard to judgments of body types.

The application of typology to development represents one of the two major biological approaches to adolescence in contemporary Germany. The major biological approach is represented by a stratification theory of personality. This theory holds that psychological functions are embedded in layers of the brain. The more elementary affective functions are thought to have their root in the cerebellum, while the more cognitive and intellectual functions originate in the cerebrum. The stratification theory makes the assumption that a direct relationship exists between the evolution of the brain, its structure and stratification, and the development of personality.

REMPLEIN: PERSONALITY STRATA

Heinz Remplein (1956) has been singled out as a representative of this orientation because his approach is essentially a biological one. Remplein's theory of development follows closely a genetic concept of brain development. Innate dispositions determine the direction of development. They also determine the limits of influence that environmental forces can have on the development of personality. The lowest layer of personality, involving dispositions which are necessary for survival, is the most resistant to environmental influences. Those innate dispositions of development which are part of the higher layers of personality reflect the newer layers of the brain and are more open to environmental pressures.

Remplein emphasizes the need for psychological development to follow the structure of layers of personality and hypothesizes that premature pushing beyond the developmental levels expected may lead to such negative consequences as an arrest in development since the psychological energies are used up too early.

In Remplein's system, the lowest layer of personality consists of those psychological processes that are related to the body functions which preserve life, in body needs for comfort, and in the psychological functions that are closely related to body organs. The second layer of personality is the endothermic stratum which is the seat of emotions. The third and highest layer of personality is the personal stratum which is represented by ego functions, e.g., cognition and volition. This layer of personality organizes and directs the elements of the lower layers into specific forms of behavior.

Following closely his biological model, Remplein does not consider developmental change as continuous, but rather as the superimposition of new layers on older ones. The old layers do retain some autonomy, even though the conscious functioning of the individual is dominated by the new layers. A developmental source of maladjustment may result from a failure of the newly developing strata to integrate properly with the older one. This hierarchical process of integration is particularly vulnerable to maladjustment during the transition from early to middle childhood and from middle childhool to adolescence. These periods of transition are characterized by negativism. The first period of negativism occurs between two and four and involves the integration of the two lower personal strata (the vital needs stratum and the endothermic stratum). This integration must occur before their subordination to the newly rising personal stratum. The child becomes conscious of his ability for self-determination and, through negativism, he facilitates the process by which the personal stratum acquires dominance over the two lower psychic strata.

The second period of negativism occurs during the transition from middle childhood to adolescence, that is, from ten to thirteen years of age. Changes in endocrinological secretion, brought about by the onset of puberty, lead to a resurgence of new drives. These take the form of adventure-seeking and the acting out of sexual and aggressive urges. The adolescent experiences these resurging drives as a desire for self-determination and independence while his environment perceives them as forms of negativism and rebellion. In reality, this negative phase, like its earlier forerunner, represents a transition which makes possible a new integration between the strata of personality (e.g., sexual impulse emanating from the lowest strata and love emanating from the second strata). In addition, there is a renewed attempt of the third personal strata to assert its leadership on a higher level of psychological functioning than was previously possible.

Since these periods of negativism are necessary for the restructuring of relationships between the strata of personality, it is important to be tolerant of the emotional instability, disobedience, and exaggerated self-assertion that are characteristic of these transitional periods in normal development.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

We have selected Oswald Kroh, Edward Spranger, and Kurt Lewin as representatives of the psychological approach in the study of adolescence. Their theories represent a movement away from biological models. In spite of differences between these theorists, they all share a focal interest in the psychological processes as the central factor in adolescent development. Specifically, these three theorists concentrate on various aspects of experience, such as consciousness, perception values, inner conflict, and stress. They all build their theories on the basis of their study of individual human experience rather than on the structure of the brain.

KROH: PHASE STRUCTURE

Oswald Kroh's (1951) approach resembles, in some ways, the formulations of personality stratification theorists. In fact, his work and writings have influenced the thinking of Remplein. Kroh broke away from using the structure and evolution of the human brain as a model for his theory of psychological development. He was primarily concerned with the psychological aspects of consciousness at different stages of development. Kroh advanced the concept of *phase structure* which emphasized the wholeness of personality along the lines of Gestalt theory. Kroh's influence on Zeller can be seen in the latter's concept of body gestalt which was discussed earlier in this chapter.

Kroh formulated two major developmental trends. The first trend referred to the expansion of the child's concept of the world. In this, Kroh comes closer to Heinz Werner's (1940) concept of physiognomic perception. At first, the child expresses magical thoughts concerning objects in the external world. This is followed by a period of a more realistic perception of the world beginning with the elementary school years. The onset of adolescence marks the emergence of a theoretical view of the world which enables the individual to reach a deeper understanding of life. The second developmental trend bears some similarity to Piaget's formulations. This developmental trend extends from reflex action to motor control and purposeful action, followed by foresight and planning, and finally reaches the point of causal cognition and creative production (see the chapters by Gallagher and by Piers).

Kroh was the originator of the idea of negativistic periods which separate the three main stages of development from one another. His formulations on the nature and function of negativism during transitional periods have been taken over by Remplein.

SPRANGER: VALUE HIERARCHY

Edward Spranger (1955) also dissociates himself from biological speculations in formulating his theory of adolescence. He is entirely committed to a psychology of understanding which does not deny certain effects of endocrinological change, but maintains that psychological change cannot be explained by physiological states. Moreover, he proposes that the methods employed to study psychological change are not the same as the methods employed by natural science to investigate physiological change. His methodological approach is one of understanding rather than of causal explanation and prediction. Spranger emphasizes the totality of the psychic structure. This is amore akin to Gestalt psychology and phenomenological psychology than to the structural psychology of Wundt and Titchener.

Adolescence is conceived of as a period of transition during which a hierarchy of values is established. This hierarchy of values is the basis of Spranger's theory of personality types. Differences in the value hierarchy will effect different patterns of change. Spranger distinguishes three such patterns of adolescent development. The first pattern consists of radical and dramatic changes which accompany a shift in the individual's perception of himself. The second pattern refers to a slow and continuous change in which the individual gradually adopts cultural values that are held by his society without basic alteration in his personality. The third pattern refers to a growth process in which the adolescent achieves his goals through self-discipline and active efforts.

The discovery of the ego as a self is a central concept in Spranger's formulation of structural change during adolescence. The ego is now experienced by the adolescent as separate from the external world. The result is in feelings of loneliness and a heightened need to experiment with the newly discovered self in the adolescent's search for a life plan and a definite identity. The adolescent begins to examine previously unquestioned ideas and relationships. This may result in rebellion against institutionalized traditions of society. It may also result in an in increased need for social recognition and new interpersonal relationships. The predominance of one or another of these trends will be determined by the value hierarchy or typology that characterizes an individual adolescent.

Although Spranger had due regard for influences of social and environmental conditons on adolescent development, he was concerned primarily with inner determinants and with the individual's experience and perception. Spranger is essentially a phenomenologist for whom the primary task of the psychologist is the study of the content and structure of inner experience. In this he shared the preoccupation of a third important theorist, Lewin. Lewin's approach is also essentially psychological and phenomenological, although environmental determinants played a larger role in his theorizing than in Spranger's.

LEWIN: FIELD THEORY

Kurt Lewin (1935, 1939, 1948) was more interested in analyzing the subjective world of the adolescent than in the individual differences between adolescents. He applied his concepts of field theory to accomplish this task. The basic psychological law of field theory is that behavior (B) is a function (F) of the person (P) and of his environment (E) or B=F(PE). The sum of all interacting environmental and personal factors is called the life space or the psychological space. Within the life space, there are positive and negative goals to which

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the individual feels either attracted or repelled. These goals are called *valences*. An individual moves either toward or away from the goals in his life space, and this movement is termed *locomotion*. A very important variable in this conceptual framework is the existence of barriers that interfere with the individual's locomotion and with his reaching his goals.

According to Lewin, the life space of the child depends on the stage of his development. The growing child is increasingly able to distinguish between the real and the unreal, hopes and realistic expectations, and falsehood and truth. Thus, a result of increased differentiation is the growing organization of the child's life space.

Several conditions in the development of a child will affect the degree of structure and organization of the child's life space. If the parents do not provide a sufficient amount of structure for the child in the early stages of development, his personality will lack integration. However, as the child grows older and as his life space becomes more differentiated, he needs freedom to advance into new regions and to have new experiences. Thus a reduction in the amount of direction as well as in the restrictions legislated by the parents is indicated.

Rate of change is a second condition that will affect the degree of increasing differentiation in the developing child. If change is gradual, it will facilitate organization. If changes are rapid and sudden, they are likely to result in periods of stress and crisis. Adolescence is characterized by relatively rapid change in the structure of the life space and therefore, results in stress and in disorganization within the life space. Lewin does not attribute the stress which results from biological changes during puberty to the amount of change that takes place objectively, but rather to the central position of the body in the life space of an individual. Thus, it is the subjective meaning of the body to the adolescent that determines for him many of the consequences of the perceived changes in the body at the time of puberty.

A third condition that will affect differentiation is the presence of conflicting forces at various points in development. The conflicting forces may originate in the child's organism, or in the environment as the child perceives it. The analysis of the heightening of conflicting forces during adolescence forms an important basis for Lewin's approach to the understanding of adolescence. For example, if the child has been highly dependent on his family, then cultural demands for increased self-sufficiency at puberty will conflict with the dependency, and puberty will be experienced as a period of violent change. Another source of conflict and stress fcr the adolescent in our society results from the ambiguous way in which he is treated by adults. For instance, certain childish forms of behavior and goals which still have strong positive valences for him are no longer accepted as appropriate by adult society. However, the adolescent is not permitted to replace these childish behaviors with adult forms of behavior such as driving a car, drinking liquor, and having sexual relations which also have strong positive valences.

Lewin has compared the marginal position of the adolescent in transition to the position of a minority group member who tries to dissociate himself from his background and to enter the majority group. The adolesadolescent wishes to dissociate himself from his childhood background and to enter the adult society which he perceives as the powerful majority group. If the minority group member is only partly successful in establishing relationships with the privileged group, he becomes a marginal man in both groups. This applies equally to the experiences of the adolescent. Both are plagued by an increased amount of emotional tension, and both are extremely sensitive to the shortcomings of the background from which they try to dissociate themselves.

Lewin offers certain interesting formulations concerning the ideological instability and extremism that often characterize adolescents. The adolescent experiences an expansion of his life space which is accompanied by uncertainty and by conflicting pressures, and therefore has the consequences of emotional and ideological instability. Moreover, in taking a radical position with regard to social ideology, the adolescent moves through fewer regions that the adult. This is so because the perception of the political arena is much more differentiated for the adult than it is for the adolescent. The adolescent distinguishes only between the left and the right, whereas the adult distinguishes more steps between the extreme right and the extreme left. The ease with which adolescents take extreme positions is also a function of the lack of differentiation in the adolescent's political ideology compared to the differentiation that exists in the political life space of the adult individual. On this point, the Black, Haan, and Smith chapter within this book will be of interest to the reader. Still another reason for the adolescent being an easy prey for ideological extremists comes from changes in the fantasy-reality balance in development. The adolescent is increasingly under greater pressure from the adult society to relinquish his "lack of realism" in favor of the reality of the adult world. This often has the consequence of accentuating the conflict of the real with the ideal and of leading to an intensive desire of the adolescent to structure, or rather to overstructure, his field of values and ideals. It may account for the readiness of the adolescent to follow anyone who offers a definite pattern of values. Extremists, of course, have the least doubt and the least self-criticism with regard to the values they hold.

Lewin's position with regard to adolescence may be summed up as follows: The adolescent phase of development involves a widening of the life space, especially socially, and in time perspective. This change has the consequence of a sharp decrease in cognitive structure. The adolescent has less direction as well as more conflicting pressures for his behavior than either the child or the adult in our society. The adolescent occupies a position between the child and the adult similar to a marginal member of an underprivileged minority group in our society. Puberty, as a new experience of the adolescent with his own body, can be represented as a baffling change of a central region in the established life space. From these three postulated characteristics of adolescence follow certain predictions concerning social behavior and emotional experiences. The adolescent will be overly sensitive and will fluctuate between extremes of shyness and agressiveness. The adolescent will experience extreme conflict between social and moral values, between ideologies, and between different syles of living. Finally, the experience of conflict will set up tensions which will throw the adolescent into positions of extreme attitudes and actions.

PSYCHOSOCIAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

The psychological theorists discussed in the previous section, particularly Lewin, did not ignore the importance of the social enviornment as a determinant of adolescent development. They merely placed their emphasis on intrapersonal psychological processes and on experience. Similarly, the social psychologist does not ignore or neglect the importance of personality mechanisms and intrapsychic factors. However, his emphasis is on the influence of the social environment and on the role of the interacting processes between the adolescent and his society.

DAVIS: SOCIALIZATION

We find the concept of socialization the key concept employed by Allison Davis (1944). Davis approaches adolescent development as being a continuous process of social reinforcement and punishment. Society designates behavior as acceptable by reinforcing or rewarding it and designates other behavior as unacceptable by punishing it. Anticipation or fear of punishment, after repeated experiences, brings about "socialized anxiety," which then becomes a key factor in the socialization process. Socialized anxiety functions as a tool for the individual in his attempt to adapt to the demands of his culture. Once the child develops this anxiety, he will acquire behavior which mitigates or reduces it. It should be noted that socialized anxiety is different from neurotic anxiety since neurotic anxiety is irrational and not adaptive. Similarly, if socialized anxiety is too strong, or too intensive, it will have an inhibiting and disorganizing effect.

Society defines what goals, values, and behaviors are acceptable and to be acquired. In our society, socialized anxiety increases with the onset of adolescence, particularly in a middle-class youth. This is because he faces increased demands from society to accept social responsibilities and because society asks him to delay and generalize the gratification of such pressing needs as sex and aggression. With this increased pressure, and with the heightening of socialized anxiety, the adolescent becomes aware of the values of his culture and depends increasingly upon social acceptance, prestige, and status.

Lower-class adolescents have different experiences in the areas of gratifying sex and aggression. The basic difference in the lower-class adolescent is that he does not develop the socialized anxiety which, in turn, motivates him to achieve and to postpone immediate gratification for the sake of long-range goals. Amos and Wellford consider this point in their chapter on "The Culturally Disadvantaged Adolescent." Moreover, the lower-class adolescent learns that he is not likely to receive symbolic rewards such as status and social acceptance for inhibiting sexual and aggressive behavior.

HAVIGHURST: DEVELOPMENTAL TASK

While Davis was primarily concerned with the role of social anxiety in adolescent development, Robert Havighurst (1951), formulated and investigated the concept of developmental tasks. These tasks are defined in relationship to those goals and criteria which society expects fulfilled or met at the different stages of development. Developmental tasks can be defined, then, as the skills, knowledge, and attitudes which a child has to acquire at successive points in his development. The mastery of these tasks depends on physical maturation, as well as on personal effort. Developmental anxiety is a motivational and reinforcement process which facilitates the acquisition and mastery of developmental tasks. The mastery of developmental tasks on any one age level prepares the individual for mastering new tasks at the next age level. Havighurst suggests that failure in a given developmental task will result in maladjustment, social disapproval, increased anxiety, and subsequently greater difficulty in mastering future tasks. Each developmental task has its critical period within which it must be learned. This emphasis by Havighurst should remind us of the formulations by the theorists of the German school. In particular, Kroh and the personality stratification theorists come to mind. However, Havighurst places a greater emphasis on the socializing agents and upon the mothods of reinforcement which society uses in an attempt to help the individual at a given age level. He also emphasizes the cultural relativity that determines the nature of the developmental tasks. The more dominant the cultural element of the task is (over the biological element) the more likely it will differ from culture to culture.

Havighurst defines developmental tasks for each level. For adolescence, he defines such tasks as accepting one's physique and sex role, relations with peers of both sexes, emotional independence of parents, partial attainment of economic independence, making vocational choices, acquiring intellectual competence and socially responsible behavior, preparing for marriage and family life, and the building of values which are in harmony with the world picture of the society to which the adolescent belongs.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

Sociological theories of adolescence focus clearly on social institutions and on the position of the individual in society; that is, on the adolescent's role and his status as the determiners of his development. Even though sociological theory is at the other end of the biological-social dimension it is interesting to note that sociologists pay considerable attention to the interacting effects of biological, physical, and social factors in adolescent development. The same cannot be said for biological theorists who deal much less systematically with the social environment as a determinant of developmental change.

KINGSLEY DAVIS; SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

We have selected Kingsley Davis (1960) as a representative advocate of sociological theory. Davis maintains that, in a complex Western society, adolescence represents a phase of development in which physical maturation and mental maturity move far ahead of social maturity. In terms of physical strength and mental capacity, full maturity is attained shortly after puberty.

Socially, the adolescent has a long way to go before he reaches a mature status. In most societies, power and status are dependent on social position and experience rather than on brute strength or even on mental capacity. However, social position and experience come with middle or old age rather than with adolescence. Thus, despite his physical or even mental equality to his elders, the adolescent is placed in a socially subordinate position. This presents a source of conflict between the generations. It is probable that the learning process would have a better chance if physical and mental maturity would come between thirty and thirty-five years of age instead of between fifteen and twenty years of age. As it is, especially in modern society, the individual must keep on learning after his capacity to do so has begun to decline. Knowledge, judgment, insight, and self-reliance are generally far from their peak when mental capacity has already reached its peak. In a physical sense, society does not utilize its great men until they are past their prime. However, in a social sense, society does utilize its men at the peak of their administrative of sociological maturity. That is to say, it utilizes them when they have hopefully accumulated the greatest know-how for making political decisions of far-reaching consequences.

From a sociological point of view, adolescence is the phase of development in which the lag of social development behind physical development first becomes pronounced. From this point of view, one might anticipate that as society becomes more complex, the lag will become greater and adolescence will be prolonged further into organic adulthood. Specifically, the position of adolescence is determined sociologically by four factors: occupational placement, reproductive control, authority organization, and cultural acquisition.

Occupational Placement. Selection of individuals for occupational placement may be made by conscription or by choice. If the selection is made by choice, it follows that the earlier the choice is made, the more intensive can be the training. The later the choice is made, the more it may rest on an accurate evaluation of personal talent and preference (see Hackman's chapter on vocational counseling with the adolescent). The more complex societies defer the final decisions until adolescence and provide most of the specialized training during that period. Primitive societies need not defer the decision until adolescence. They can make their choice much earlier and provide the training during childhood because division of labor is so slight. If training starts early, as is the case in a simple society, and extends through childhood, adolescence will not stand out occupationally as a period of any particular importance. By the time the individual reaches adolescence, he is practicing his occupation and is accepted by his society as an adult. If, on the other hand--as is the case in a complex society--occupational choice and training is centered in adolescence, the strain in this phase of development will be greater. Finally, if standards for occupational status are determined by achievement in the culture is raised, but the status of the adolescent is lowered by putting him at the bottom rung. This makes adolescence a period of strain, and in some societies, a period of depriviation.

Reproductive Control. In every society, reproductive capacity first appears at the inception of adolescence. However, the control of reproduction and of sexual behavior is exercised differently in different societies. Each society is confronted with three basic questions concerning reproduction and sexual gratification. First, whether the adolescent shall be permitted to enter normal heterosexual intercourse, or whether he should be forced or encouraged to postpone such behavior. Second, whether marriage should be permitted with the onset of sexual maturation. Third, whether marriage should be the result of free choice or whether it should be controlled by others. Also, should marriage establish a separate household or one that is merely an extension of the parental menage? This last question is an issue which primitive and modern societies face together. Until recently, one common characteristic was shared by most societies. The adolescent was permitted to exercise both his sexual and reproductive functions; however, society carefully controlled the exercise of these functions.

In our society, the ideal of premarital chastity is upheld. The postponement of marriage, as well as the independence and separateness of the wedded couple, is also advocated. The adolescent is permitted to associate closely with the opposite sex, but is put on his honor to remain virtuous. The adolescent is permitted to choose his own mate independently, but his or her parents retain veto rights in many areas. Both Juhasz and Staton discuss these problems in separate chapters, so we will not consider them further here. Of course, the competitive struggle for status in the occupational area also gets entangled with the competitve system in the courtship and dating area. This does little to lessen the problems of the adolescent period.

Authoritarian Organization. The next major sociological issue concerning adolescence is that of the child's emancipation from the authority of his family. In our society, adolescents believe that obtaining a job and becoming married entitles a person to independence. In other societies, the authority of parents continues after adolescence, and adolescence does not stand out as a significant period of change in an individual's relationship to authority. In our society, in the absence of publicly accepted practices for emancipation from authority, wide individual variations exist from family to family and each family must settle the matter in its own way. In many instances the adolescent craves the protection of his family, but he rebels against its authority. He is torn by the conflict of dreading to leave the careless existence of childhood and of accepting the burdensome responsibility of adult life. The nature of this conflict and its possible consequences were discussed in some detail in the presentation of Lewin's

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theory. This whole issue will be taken up again when we turn to the psychoanalytic theory of adolescence.

Let us examine more closely some of the sociological determinants of the conflict between parental authority and adolescence. One of these determinants is the rate of social change. The more rapid the social and technological change in a society, the greater will be the difference in the cultural content experienced by two different generations at the same stage of development. The parent learns that his adolescent experiences are outdated when he assumes the responsibility of transmitting his background experience to his own child. The problem of cultural lag, on the parents' part, is aggravated in modern society by the fact that the child is exposed to competing authorities. Professional educators usually teach ideas which are in advance of their own culture, and thereby, they widen the intellectual gap between parent and child.

It is interesting to raise the question as to why parental authority generates so much more conflict than other institutions of authority. One of the factors determining this dffference is that society defines clearly those selective areas in which it assumes authority. In contrast, parental authority includes most aspects of a child's life. Often parents are glad to relinquish their authority over the adolescent child and to grant him independence. However, a child's social status is identified with parental status, and parental status is socially identified with the child's conduct. Therefore, parents often wish to insure proper conduct on the part of their offspring by prolonging parental authority.

A related phenomenon bearing on adolescent conflict is the combination of *concentration and dispersion that* characterizes our family system. The smallness of the family unit in our society makes for intensity of family feelings. Most of the day's schedule takes place outside the home and this makes for dispersion of activities. This dispersion of activities away from home isolates and increases the intensity of the affectional bonds within the home. The major share of the family sentiment is directed toward a few individuals who are so important to emotional satisfaction that complexes easily develop. There is less sentiment to go around, and, therefore, we are left with youth who are emotionally deprived.

Cultural Acquisition. A fourth issue that defines the adolescent period is that of cultural acquisition. The more primitive the culture, the earlier the child can be taught its rudiments. Highly civilized societies require specialized educational establishments. The universal and specialized school system, as we know it, becomes a necessity. However, the school system concentrates on teaching abstractions which are often divorced from the facts and experiences of real life. Thus, the adolescent emerges from his school with knowledge which does not help him to handle concrete everyday situations. This inconcgruence tends to produce problems of motivation. The existence of the long interval of time between learning and its vocational application also contributes to the problem of academic motivation. Davis (1960) suggests certain modifications in the school system which would reduce the problem it currently produces. The school system should make greater efforts to introduce inventions of new educational technology and to overhaul the incentive mechanism. For example, recent methods of improving reading habits may shorten the absorption of the same amount of knowledge.

The current incentive mechanisms might be greatly improved by introducing vocational and occupational training earlier. This would permit the adolescent to carry out rewarding functions in society simultaneously with his continued schooling.

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Psychoanalytic theory is being presented separately because it cannot be put into any one of the previous headings without distortion. Biological, psychological, and social processes and concepts occupy equally central positions. In its early stages, psychoanalytic theory was heavily weighted toward biological factors and evolutionary ideas. Very early in its development, however, the clash between the biological-constitutional versus the social-environmental orientation was worked out by two psychoanalytic theorists who broke away and developed their own theories. Of course I am referring to Carl Jung and Alfred Adler. The former went in the direction of extreme emphasis on a constitutional typology and evolutionary recapitulation of human experience, whereas the latter elevated the family and other social factors to a position of central importance. As psychoanalysis developed, Freud (1936) himself shifted toward a greater emphasis on external reality. Later, Anna Freud (1948), in her concern with the educational process and particularly with defense mechanisms of the ego, anticipated the developments of ego psychology. Finally, studies in cultural anthropology carried out by psychoanalysts such as Abraham Kardiner (1939) and Erik Erikson (1950, 1959) have elevated culture and environment to central positions in psychoanalytic theory.

INFANTILE SEXUALITY

For many centuries, and until relatively recently, it was assumed that puberty marked the onset of sexuality. With the advent of Sigmund Freud (1953) the concept of infantile sexuality and of psychosexual development replaced the traditional concept of puberty. Infantile sexuality refers to those pleasurable experiences which are associated with the stimulation and gratification of the basic needs relating to food intake, elimination, and genital excitement. These occur prior to the onset of puberty. The organization and course of infantile sexuality during early and middle childhood determine how adolescence is experienced and expressed. Briefly, some of the structural formations of childhood may be described as follows.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

The psychic apparatus of the infant is dominated by the pleasure-pain principle. The dominance of this principle diminishes as a result of two important factors. First, as the infant develops trust in his mother's ability to allay his tensions, he

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becomes correspondingly less dominated. The second factor is the child's growing control over internal tension and his mastery of the stimulation from his external environment. This process contributes to a shift in the child's position from passivity to activity. The child learns to manipulate others and the physical world to gain his own ends.

The child's feelings of self-confidence derived from his mastery and from his shift to an active position are absorbed in the next phase of development, namely, the phallic phase. This is particularly true in the boy, in whom they take on the form of exaggerated fantasies of power. During the phallic phase, the child begins to develop fantasies of possession and intimacy toward the parent of the opposite sex; this period is the oedipal stage. The oedipal conflict is wrought with sexual and aggressive wishes that take on frightening proportions. The child resolves this conflict between forbidden impulses and authority by identifying with the authority figure and thereby erecting a built-in censor of his own for forbidden impulses. This is the beginning of conscience and super-ego. The experience of this conflict and its resolution usher in the period of middle childhood which has been called the latency period.

MIDDLE CHILDHOOD

The particular importance of the latency period for adolescence is the sharp increase on control over the impulses which occur during this period. The increased control is facilitated by the development of a conscience based on the internalization of, and the identification with, parental authority. With it, the child's respect for law and order assumes a dominant place. The internalization of parental authority has another consequence as well. The child's dependence on parental praise and approval for feelings of self-worth is replaced by those inner sources of assurance which we call self-esteem. Another important consequence is the child's greater independence from the parent. As a result of this greater independence, the child is less likely to be frustrated by the parent, and this lessens his mood fluctuations and produces more emotional stability.

The formation of the superego and the strengthening of the ego represent an increased differentiation of the personality. It is further facilitated by a separation of verbal and motor expression. This in turn permits rapid strides forward in the development of language and symbolic activity. This differentiation is particularly important in enabling the child to tolerate conflicting demands from within as well as from the external environment.

As mentioned earlier, the mother-child relationship is important for the development of the structural formations of shildhood that survive and determine the course of adolescence. At first, the infant experiences both parents as dispensers of comfort or frustration. Mother's role is not primarily feminine, but rather that of an active person. The child is in a passive position of getting or not getting. By identifying with his mother as a source of nurturance, the child acquires not only some independence, but also some of his mother's active position.

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For the boy, the mother continues through childhood to be the object of his affection. What changes in the little boy is his position from passive receptivity to active mastery. The latter reaches its first peak in the phallic phase of development. Here the little boy identifies his power with masculinity. Excessive masturbation, which may arise both during this period and in puberty, is interpreted as a defense against regressing to a passive position. The boy discovers sex differences, and in his fantasy he interprets the difference as an injury to the opposite sex. Psychoanalytic theory relates this interpretation to the contempt and fear with which our culture treats femininity in boys. The male's contemptuous attitude toward the female sex often harbors his deep-seated fear of regressing to his earlier passive receptive position in infancy. The boy's identification with his father helps him to combat this fear. Identification with the father is facilitated by the fear consequences of the boy's rivalry with his father for the affection of his mother. The fear is resolved by identifying with the father. These changes toward masculine identity-formation, or a failure of such changes and an alternative course of regression to a passive positon, are of utmost importance as a background for the developmental trends which occur during adolescence.

The formation of feminine identity is different and equally important for the adolescent phase. At first the girl shares with the boy a passive position toward her mother as a provider. When the girl enters a phase of independence and of an active position, unlike the boy, she not only changes her position toward her mother, but she also changes her love object from mother to father. Her continued identification with the mother as a provider will reinforce her active position and will conflict with the girl's imitation of her mother's passive position toward her father. The active position the girl takes persists for a long time throughout childhood. There are very strong psychological, social, and practical reasons for the persistence of this active position. The little girl is greatly rewarded for being self-sufficient; she envies boys for their physique and status; a girl is not criticized as much for being a tomboy as a boy is criticized for being a sissy; the active position is a satisfying one to any child regardless of his sex; finally, the role of the woman is that of a nurturant-giving person which certainly entails an active position. It is not until much later in the course of development that the girl begins to take a passive position toward men and to identify more fully with her mother in the mother's passive position toward the father. Thus, we find that the course of the development of the masculine identity of boys is simpler than the development of the feminine identity for girls. The boy not only retains the same love object (the mother), he also develops in one direction, namely from passivity to activity. The girl, on the other hand, changes from a passive to an active position, then back again to a passive position. The latter must differ considerably from the early infantile passivity shared by boys and girls alike. These, then, are the structural formations of childhood which survive into adolescence.

ADOLESCENCE

At the onset of adolescence, both boys and girls give signs of experiencing stress and of giving up some of the accomplishments in education and social conformity that were achieved during the latency period. The degree and direction of regression will have common elements. It will also be greatly affected by preadolescent development, as outlined, up to this point. The adolescent manifests not only regressive tendencies but also a variety of defensive maneuvers to ward off the regressive pull.

An important development at the onset of adolescence, as seen by psychoanalytic theory, is the moving away from the love objects of early childhood. This is a continuation of the move in the same direction which occurred during latency. A certain amount of affection becomes liberated as a result of the dissociation from early love objects and goes in search of new love objects outside the family. With it occurs a weakening of the parental authority which formed the backbone for superego development. This weakening of the superego is further reflected in feelings of loneliness, inner turmoil, and depressed moods. Adolescence has been described as a phase in which mourning and being in love dominate the affective life of the young person. The rebellion against, and separation from, the parent involves a real loss and results in experiences of emptiness, grief, and sadness which are a part of all mourning. The working through of such mourning is an important task of adolescence.

Friendship acquires an enormous importance for adolescent boys and girls. Not only do friendships gain in importance but they also acquire a new quality, namely, an idealization of the friend. The idealized image of the friend supplements the earlier idealized image of the parent. The relationship between the loss of early love objects and the formation of intensive relationships, such as friendships and crushes during adolescence, can be seen in the reactions to the loss of an idealized friend when such a disappointment or loss results in depressions or in going on eating binges. The fact that these relationships are often transitory and of short duration betrays an ulterior purpose of these friendships. The firendship has been a search for a replacement of the abandoned parent.

HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Now, turning to heterosexual relationships, psychoanalytic theory points to striking differences between boys and girls in their reactions to the opposite sex at the onset of puberty. The boy first turns away from heterosexuality and escapes into his male peer groups. He is preoccupied with defending himself against regressive tendencies and the feared consequences of such tendencies. The girl does not react in the same way at the onset of puberty. She goes through a stage of exaggerating her active position in life without turning away from heterosexuality. In contrast to the boy, her defense against regression (to an infantile passive position and to infantile sexuality) is an exaggeration of heterosexual interest and experience. She does not assume a feminine role, but acts as the active, aggressive partner in the pseudo-love game. Related to this turn of events is the fact that girls mature more rapidly than boys during this period and experience more violent and painful changes in their physiological functioning. Evidence from psychoanalytic therapy on the adolescent acting-out of girls suggests that the excessive active and aggressive role in the frantic attempt to relate to men represents an overcompensation in the adolescent girl. This is a counter against the strong regressive pull to be fondled in the same passive manner as the infantile girl was fondled by her mother. Instances of adolescent infatuation with much older men may represent a giving in to this regressive pull.

DEFENSE MECHANISMS

As indicated earlier, the adolescent employs a variety of defensive maneuvers in his reaction to the inner impoverishment he experiences, and to other sources of stress and conflict. One fairly common defensive reaction consists of a self-induced heightening of ego states. In this category belongs self-induced exertion. Pain and exhaustion are fairly common phenomena among adolescents. These self-induced ego states of affective and sensory intensity allow the adolescent to experience a heightened sense of self. They enable the adolescent to discharge tension which comes from the stress and conflict he experiences.

Sometimes specific defenses against anxiety and conflict function under an umbrella of a socially accepted form of behavior. An example of this may be seen in the sharing of a code of behavior which permits the adolescent to divorce his feelings from his actions. This may occur because the behavior is public and because he does not have to take the responsibility for it. Under such circumstances, the adolescent can act out, without having any strong feelings about his action. The specific defense mechanisms hidden in this type of socially sanctioned acting out are denial and isolation. The adolescent denies his feelings and isolates feeling and awareness. He is fully aware of what he does without having any feelings. Conversely, due to his submerging himself in the peer code, he may experience feelings of anger or act aggressively without any awareness of what the source and target of his anger is, or without awareness of the aggressive consequences of his behavior.

THE PEER GROUP AND SOCIAL BELONGING

Erikson (1959) points toward the positive value of the gang for the adolescent and the ways in which the clique helps the adolescent form his ego identity. The adolescent who rebels against the dominance of his parents, against the dominance of their value system and their intrusion into his life, has a desperate need for social belonging. The peer group and the gang help the adolescent find his own identity. The adolescent relies on his peers for comfort by stereotyping himself at a time when his body image changes radically and when he is confronted with pressures which threaten to overwhelm him. This is one of the reasons why totalitarian systems are so attractive to the adolescent. They supply convincing and suitable identifications. Democratic identity involves freedom of choice and does not supply an identity as readily. The democratic group requires that the person have sufficient ego identity to tolerate ambiguity. The adolescent who has to question his own identity at every moment welcomes membership in the totalitarian peer group which relieves him of his painful search and provides emotional crutches until he can learn to stand on his own two feet.

ERIK ERIKSON: IDENTITY FORMATION AND ADOLESCENCE

We have mentioned the name of Erik Erikson several times. It is now appropriate to consider his theory in greater detail. Erikson has taken the Freudian position and considered it in the light of anthropological cultural research. His major focus has been on the process by which the individual develops his ego identity. As we know, when puberty is reached, the individual's body grows rapidly and sexual maturity arrives on the scene (see Garrison's chapter). This may present problems for the adolescent, as his self-image may be in conflict with his views of the perceptions of others. Erikson believes that, for the youth of today, the development of one's ego identity has largely replaced the theme of sexuality that was so prevalent at the time of Freud. This is not to deny the importance of one's developing sexuality, but rather that it is subsumed within the process of establishing the concept of self. For the adolescent this is accomplished initially through identification with popular figures such as movie stars, sports figures and representatives of youth movements. His own peer group is then used to find his identity within a social context. Erikson (1950) believes that there are eight stages through which each of us moves in our search for ego identity and that our progress depends on the satisfactory resolution of each of the previous stages. For example we begin with the stage of Trust versus Mistrust. The next stage is Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, and so forth. The interested reader may wish to turn to the writings of Erikson himself (1950, 1959) or to read an excellent short presentation by Muuss (1962). In addition, the description of Spranger's theory that was given earlier in this chapter will give insight into Erikson, as Spranger was influential in the development of Erikson's thinking.

The total thrust of one's life, according to Erikson, is in the process of establishing ego identity. In childhood the relationships with parents are most important. In adolescence the focus moves to identification with peers and other important persons; and in early adulthood it moves to the area of vocational decisions and the falling in love. During these periods of life, the individual continually revises and redefines who he is or who he *perceives* himself to be. Satisfactory resolution of this task produces the healthy or adjusted individual. Conflict or unsatisfactory resolutions along the path to adulthood contribute to maladjustment.

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Block, Haan, and Smith discuss Erikson at some length in their chapter on activism and apathy at the collegiate level, and the introductory chapter by Adams will give the reader additional insights into the adolescent who is going through the process of identity formation. Hamachek's chapter on the development of the adolescent self, considered from the framework of Erikson's theory, will be particularly instructive.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND MODIFICATIONS IN THE THEORY OF IDENTIFICATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION

As we have seen, psychoanalytic theory emphasizes the importance of the active and passive position of the mother, the formation of affectionate bonds between the child and his parents, and ensuing conflicts over rivalry. It also emphasizes ambivalent feelings, and fear of the consequences of infantile sexual and aggressive fantasies as essential processes influencing the direction of sexual development in both boys and girls. The emphasis in these formulations has been on intrapsychic processes, particularly of the developing child. Similarly, these formulations concentrated on the child's perception of parental roles and on changes in the child's identification with his or her perceived role of the parent. An important contribution to these formulations has come from recent attempts to conceptualize parental roles with greater emphasis on differences in actual, rather than merely perceived, parental role functioning. Theory and research have also gained through a further breakdown of the process of identification and identity formation into identification in areas which are relevant or unrelated to sex typing. A third contribution has come from a reformulation of the concept identification so as to make this concept more amenable to sociological and anthropological theory and research. This last attempt involved the notion of status envy as an essential process of identification and the distinction between attributed, subjective, and desired identity as a way of making the concept of identity less global and thereby more useful for precise formulation and research.

Expressive and Instrumental Role Functioning. Parsons (1958) considered the masculine role to be essentially instrumental and the feminine role to be essentially expressive. Instrumental role functioning is task-oriented rather than person-oriented. Expressive role functioning is oriented toward interpersonal attitudes and feelings, toward making and eliciting emotional responses in the immediate social interaction. Parsons proposes further distinction between fathers and mothers, in that fathers are capable of engaging in both instrumental and expressive roles while mothers are more committed to expressive role functioning. This distinction was further elaborated by Johnson (1963), who hypothesized that the mother is essentially expressive toward her sons and daughters during their first phase of identification in the life cycle. The second phase of the child's identification is determined

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by the father, who behaves differently toward daughter and son. The father rewards the daughter's expressive role fucntioning by commending her for being attractive and relating to her, essentially, in an affectionate context. In contrast, the father may make demands of his sons and stress an achievement orientation much earlier than with his daughter. This formulation implies that identification with the father will facilitate the development of appropriate sex roles in both boys and girls (i.e., masculine instrumental role functioning in boys and expressive role functioning in girls).

Parental versus Sex Role Identification. Regardless of the nature of the parent's own role identification, a child may identify with parental characteristics which are relevant to sex role functioning and with other parental characteristics which are not relevent to sex role function. Thus a child may be strongly identified with parental functioning of the same or opposite sex without having internalized an appropriate or inappropriate sex role model. Moreover, the solidification of a child's sex role identity depends not only on the parent but also on the responses and expectations of other adults as well as peers in the child's culture.

A further complication in the relationship between parental identification and sex role identity comes from the parent's own sex role identity. For example, if the parent's own sex role identification is opposite to that of his or her own sex, the child's identification with the same sex parent will result in an inappropriate sex role identity formation. Lynn (1966) points to another distinction which has important implications for the development of sex role identity. Although boys do not interact as much with fathers as with their mothers, boys develop a strong masculine identity. This results from the fact that the attitudes and activities which characterize a masculine role are communicated to the boy by other representatives of society and by cultural media. Moreover, boys receive rewards for typical masculine role behavior, and criticism or ridicule for attitudes and behaviors which are generally associated with feminine roles.

The fact that mothers interact more frequently and in more concrete situations with their children led Lynn to predict that both girls and boys will be more identified with those personality characteristics of their mothers which are culturally neutral with reference to sex typing. Concomitantly both boys and girls will be less identified with neutral characteristics of their fathers' personalities than of their mothers' personalities.

The development of masculine and feminine identity have each their own complexities and conflicts. Boys have to change first from their identification with mother to a masculine identification. In contemporary Western culture this change is complicated by the fact that the boy has to learn his masculine role largely

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in the absence of a concrete model, his father. Yet the culture punishes a child in a variety of direct and indirect ways for behaving in an opposite sex manner. Girls, on the other hand, experience complexity in their sex role development resulting from their need to assume both active and passive positions. This complexity is further compounded by the fact that in adult society the feminine role holds less prestige and privilege than the masculine role. These different sources of anxiety and conflict manifest themselves in a variety of ways, i.e., discrepancies between underlying sex role identification and overt sex role behavior of both male and females in our culture. In our culture males may be inclined to manifest a masculine sex role preference with an underlying (repressed) opposite sex role identification. In contrast, women may tend to show an opposite sex role preference with an underlying same sex role identification.

Status-Envy Hypothesis. Burton and Whiting (1961) emphasized two aspects of identification. Identification consists of learning a given role by rehearsal in fantasy rather than by actual performance, and identification of a given role is motivated by envy of the incumbent of a privileged status. In other words, life alone will not produce identification. The child identifies maximally with people who control access to resources because of their position (age, occupation, and other status characteristics). The child who wishes to have free access to the desired resources will aspire to identify with the person whose status enables him to control access to the desired resources.

Burton and Whiting distinguish between three kinds of identity: attributed identity, which refers to a status assigned to a person by other members of his society; subjective identity, consisting of the status the person sees himself occupying; and, optative identity, which refers to the desire to occupy a certain status. Most societies attempt to bring about integration between attributed, subjective, and optative identities through a process of socialization. Society wishes any member to see himself as others see him, and that he perceive himself as being what he wants to be. The process of *socialization* consists of an enforced sequence of experiences in which becoming an adult involves being first deprived of access to resources which only the adults in that society enjoy; and wanting to be a member of the class of adults. When society permits the individual to occupy this privileged status, the individual becomes what he want wanted to be. In other words, the subjective and optative status become integrated.

Burton and Whiting apply their theory of identification to a wide range of anthropological data. For example, it is suggested that male initiation rites at puberty are associated with exclusive mother-child arrangements and long post-partum sex taboo. The initiation rights serve to bury the feminine identity the boy has established with his mother during early childhood and to replace this earlier identity with a secondary male identity. Another source of support for the status envy hypothesis of

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identification is seen in the gang membership of adolescents who reject femininity in every form. Miller (1958) interprets excessive concern with being "tough" as a reaction formation to cross-sex primary identification.

As I have indicated at the outset of this section, the formulations of Parsons, Heilbrun, Lynn, and Burton and Whiting are most valuable when seen as modifications, rather than replacements, of the theories of identification discussed earlier.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES

Anthropology, more than any other discipline, has cast doubt on the validity of biological theories of personality development. Ruth Benedict (1950) has suggested that very few human traits are universal. Moreover, the universal existence of certain human traits would not represent scientific evidence that such traits must be biogenetically determined. Similarly, anthropologists do not consider many problems to be inherent in adolescent development. Cross-cultural studies have shown that a good many of the problems which have been described and discussed earlier in this capter may not exist at all in some societies, and may be solved at different age levels in other societies. Even physiological maturing, such as the onset of puberty, will acquire different meanings in different cultures and, therefore, will result in different reactions and behavioral changes during adolescence. For example, as Margaret Mead (1952) has shown, it has been found in primitive tribes that menstruation may be interpreted as dangerous by one tribe because the menstruating girl could dry up the well, and as good in another tribe because the menstruating girl could improve the crops and increase the food supply. Instances have also been found in which no taboos and rituals are connected with menstruation. In such instances, the girls are not even forbidden to prepare food or to mix freely with other members at the onset of menstruation.

Cultural anthropology challenges the universality of the specific stages in human development which are an essential part of most of the theories discussed in this chapter. The majority of anthropologists hold that specific patterns of cultural conditions determine whether development takes place in stages or is continuous. Gradual and abrupt changes before and after adolescent development vary widely from culture to culture, and no single rate of change, within development, can be considered universal. The cultural prescriptions for age and stage grading in Western society may be contradictory but they are definitely there, and they strongly reinforce stages in development.

Observers of adolescents in modern society are more likely to be impressed with the unique sources of developmental change that characterize adolescence than are the observers of primitive cultures. The rules, sanctions, and taboos for conduct in primitive cultures are more directly related to the patterns and changes of behavior during

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adolescence than is the case in our complex modern society. Thus, the role of the social environment in adolescent development emerges more clearly in primitive societies than it does in a modern society. This more direct and explicit influence of cultural conditioning on adolescence may well be related to the greater continuity between the parent and the growing child in the primitive society. Conversely, the more indirect and complex relationship between cultural conditioning and adolescent development, as well as the presence of the conflicting and ambiguous standards in modern society, may have facilitated the widening gap between the parent and the growing child. By comparison with primitive societies, it is clear that the adolescent in modern society conforms increasingly more to peer-group standards and has become less responsive to parental values and expectations. Other reasons for the widening gap between the generations have been discussed earlier in this chapter, particularly in the section on sociological theory.

Most anthropologists who have studied primitive cultures are impressed with the beneficial effects of gradual change and continuity in development, particularly for the period of adolescence. One anthropologist (Leta Hollingworth, 1928), has gone so far as to describe the position of characterizing adolescence as a period of inevitable storm and stress, from which new and different personalities emerge, as a survival of the ceremonial rebirth of folklore which constituted the initiation of primitive youth into manhood and womanhood. She also describes those attempts to explain psychological changes during puberty as a result of biological and organic change, as a survival of the sudden change in social status that occurred as the result of puberty initiation rites among primitive people. The biological theorists have clung to their belief in the biological determinants of psychological changes during adolescence with extreme tenacity. Contrasting this with the extreme paucity of convincing evidence, Hollingworth's suggestion becomes even more intriguing. Ho However, in fairness, it must be remembered that the more recent biological theorists have left ample room for individual differences in biological predispositions. This allows for a wide range of different effects of organic change on adolescent development. An example of this can be seen in the discussion of followers of Kretschmer, who have held that differences in body type will affect differences in the amount of storm and stress experienced by the adolescent.

SUMMARY

The present writer shares some of the expressed concerns of the anthropologist with respect to biological theories of adolescence. The evolutionary speculations of G. Stanley Hall and the biological speculations of Remplein are post facto analogies which seem mainly an attempt to reconcile biological and psychological development. They are found lacking as a conceptual framework for the organization of the psychosocial phenomena of adolescence. This is particularly true when it comes to understanding, prediction, and control. Gesell's concept of spiral growth and of an oscillation between progression and regression in development may be useful and

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may have helped Gesell to organize his empirical observations. However, the validity of this concept, when applied to psychological change, does not hinge on demonstrating a direct link between oscillation in biological development and psychological development. Learning theory has found this fluctuation in conditioning and habit formation and has been quite successful in discovering psychological mechanisms and processes to account for these phenomena. Similarly, Piaget's concept of equilibration and Anna Freud's concept of the interaction between progression and regression in developmental change, provide models of oscillation in development without any reference to biological processes. As in the case of learning theory, both Piaget and Anna Freud use psychological mechanisms to account for this oscillation. These mechanisms are both plausible and testable.

Some of the biological variables and processes that have been suggested appear to have considerable promise for facilitating systematization of the psychosocial phenomena during adolescence. As indicated earlier, the concept of body build (proposed by Kretschmer) and the reference to endocrinological changes have considerable promise for understanding the fluctuations in mood and anxiety during adolescence. This is true because these particular psychological variables are more closely linked to biological processes than are many other aspects of human experience.

Finally, it should be apparent to the reader of this chapter, that much fruitful thinking and many profitable ideas are to be gained from a greater familiarity with European theories. To the present time these theories have not received a receptive ear in the psychological circles of the United States. It is hoped that the brief introduction to adolescent theories provided in this chapter will encourage the student to continue to familiarize himself with the writings of Spranger, Kroh, Zeller, and the other psychologists who have much to offer toward an understanding of adolescence.

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ADOLESCENCE: A RE-INTERPRETATION

by

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ADOLESCENCE: A RE-INTERPRETATION

Adolescence has been traditionally thought of as the period of transition from childhood to adulthood, from the onset of puberty to voting age, from dependency to self-direction. Friedenberg describes adolescence as follows:

> Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and what he really feels. It is a time which he differentiates himself from the culture; though on the culture's terms. It is the age at which, by becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals, perceived clearly as such.

Jersild has defined adolescence as:

> A period during which the growing person makes the transition from childhood to adulthood. While it is not linked to any precise span of years, adolescence may be viewed as beginning roughly when young people begin showing signs of puberty and continuing until most of them are sexually mature, have reached their maximum growth in height, and have approximately reached their full mental growth as measured by intelligence tests. The period . . . includes the years from about the age of twelve to the early twenties.

While such definitions give a general description of the stage of adolescent development, factors within today's society cause us to look for a more relevant definition of the adolescent period of life. The best definitions most likely will come from adolescents themselves. Philosophical and theoretical definitions of the adolescent age may give a behavioral-expectancy framework, but most likely its adequacy will depend on our ability to assess youth's ideas about today's problems.

Many of our problems today are a result of the very progress we have made. The adolescents who make our youth culture are post-World War II babies who have constantly been bombarded with industrialization, technology, automation, television, a shift from rural to urban life, increasing affluence, advanced scientific discoveries, the space age, the atomic age, an impending leisure-time-for-work-time age, greater communication and mobility, sexual liberalization, and increasing prerequisites for educational and occupational realizations.

The impact of social advancement may be analyzed by looking at the biological, psychological, and cultural bases which may contribute to changing adolescent behavior. If, indeed, a new basis in any of these three areas now exists, then it seems only fair to evaluate youth in terms of contemporary advancements rather than previous ages. While many psychologists have observed different developmental behaviors of the adolescent, the most thorough and systematic categorization of adolescent developmental tasks was advanced in Robert Havighurst's *Developmental Tasks and Education* (1952) in which he describes a series of tasks which should be accomplished during the adolescent period of life.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS IN ADOLESCENCE

Developmental tasks may be defined as skills, knowledge, functions or attitudes which an individual should acquire within a specific period of his life. Havighurst sees these as being acquired through (1) physical maturation, (2) cultural expectations, and (3) personal aspirations. These forces "set for the individual a series of developmental tasks which must be mastered if he is to be a successful human being". Therefore, in specific reference to the adolescent, the following developmental tasks are advanced by Havighurst as necessary accomplishments in order to move successfully into early adulthood.

1. Achieving new and more mature relations with age-mates of both sexes.
2. Achieving a masculine or feminine social role.
3. Accepting emotional independence of parents and other adults.
4. Achieving assurance of economic independence.
5. Accepting one's physique and using the body effectively.
6. Selecting and preparing for an occupation.
7. Preparing for marriage and family life.
8. Developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence.
9. Desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.
10. Acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behavior.

Havighurst describes some tasks as arising primarily from physical maturation. Tasks 1 and 2, which accompany the onset of puberty, have a strong biological base. Other competencies, such as emotional maturity (Task 3), occupational selection (Task 6), and developing intellectual skills (Task 8), are also strongly influenced by physical maturation. Some tasks are resolved by the adolescent in view of personal and cultural expectations. Such tasks as striving for economic independence (Task 4), marriage (Task 7), gaining social responsibility (Task 9), and acquiring values (Task 10) are characteristic of identity striving.

Most tasks, including those with a strong biological basis, are affected by social approvals and disapprovals. Furthermore, society has appropriate times for certain developmental tasks to be worked out by the adolescent. Inability to accomplish a task within the allotted time interval compounds the learning of such a task, sometimes to the point of nonresolution within the individual himself. Therefore, in light of (1) society's attempt to help the individual learn tasks, (2) the rapid social and technological changes that have been made since World War II, and (3) the continuing change within our contemporary society, it seems necessary to reevaluate adolescent developmental tasks in respect to our existing society.

TASK ONE: LEARNING APPROPRIATE RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS*

Goal: To learn effective relationships among members of the same sex and opposite sex. To build within capabilities of understanding the adult sex role.

Biological Basis: Male and female sexual development during early adolescence builds the base for late adolescent sexual maturity.

Psychological Basis: The process of heterosexual involvements is instrumental in learning proper sex roles, many of which are effective during childhood. Group social activities develop around ages 11-12. Couple dating and double dating is an increasingly important activity among the 13-14 age group. Intimacy and often sexual involvement peaks in many youths by age 16.

Our culture sets a pattern for expected adolescent social behaviors. As groups of adolescents move into their own subcultures these patterns may vary from that designated by the larger society. It has always been thought that by high school, boys and girls should be socializing with the opposite sex, an idea that is not out of line with the accomplishment of Task 1.

Havighurst (1952) suggests that from the age of 13 or 14 most boys and girls are preoccupied with social activities and experimentation. He suggests that from their own sex they learn to behave as adults among adults and with the opposite sex they learn adult social skills. Around 14-16, Havighurst sees the more intimate type of companionship developing.

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* The author acknowledges that the task definition format originated with Dr. Havighurst, and is used here because of its adequacy in describing the tasks.

Yet, there are increasing evidences that heterosexual social roles are beginning at an earlier age. Martinson's (1968) research indicates that children are feeling pressures from their parents to date and attend many heterosexual functions by the sixth grade. A more popular account is that of *Esquire's* "Micro-boppers" (Braun, 1968) which is a descriptive but somewhat overexaggerated article about adultlike behaviors (business investments, computer playtime, television commercial-making, martinis, and sexual candidness) of the 9-13 age group. Yet, it gives you a glimpse of what merchandisers are capitalizing on, without much thought of the psychosexual conflicts into which youths are thrown.

Physically, the average girl has her adolescent growth spurt shortly after age 10, with the peak being reached around age 12. During this time two significant things occur: (1) around 10.5 years breast enlargement begins, with full development usually occurring within three years. (2) Approximately 80% of the girls reach menarche between ages 11.5 and 14.5 (Meredith, 1967). These increased body changes, combined with industry's appeals to 10-11-year-old femininity, have thrown many girls into a social-sexual role earlier than in previous generations.

One additional factor contributes to an earlier adolescent socialization: the new public school organizational "middle-school" movement, a reorganization of school districts to include a school for grades 5-8 or 6-8. A 1967-68 survey revealed that in the past decade more than 1,100 school districts have adopted this organizational plan (Alexander, 1968). While it is not yet certain, it is highly probable that the social impact of having 10-13-year-old students in one school will greatly increase the earlier socialization of youths.

TASK TWO: LEARNING THE APPROPRIATE MASCULINE AND FEMININE SOCIAL ROLE

Goal: To be aware of appropriate adult sex roles, acceptable by one's self and society.

Biological Basis: At pubescence the growth patterns of male and female become distinctively clear as each develops characteristics necessary to the sex role he or she must fulfill in life.

Phychological Basis: The alternative roles within our society today do not stress the male-masculine/female-feminine roles as they once did. Boys still find it easy to fit into a role society has designated for them, only now it is a competitive role as females are placing less stress on the wife-mother role and greater emphasis on acceptable alternative role behaviors.

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Havighurst sees the necessity of a boy accepting the idea of becoming a man and a girl accepting the idea of becoming a woman. The traditional roles suggested in his book (1952) are work roles for men and wife-mother roles for women, with dependence on a man for support. However, social changes have given today's woman more freedom than was permitted in earlier generations. The result has been less pressure on the adolescent girl to accept the traditional feminine role.

Two factors contribute to a shift from clearly distinct to less definitive sex roles. They are: (1) movement of the female from the home to many roles outside the home, and (2) dress modes that are considered asexual rather than either masculine or feminine.

The growth of industrial centers, with accompanying concentration of population in urban areas, and the shift from extended or rurally located families to nuclear (urban) families, has resulted in an increasing individualism and less definite masculine and feminine roles within and external to the home. In 1890, 4.5% of the married women in America worked. By 1940, just prior to World War II, this figure had risen to 16.7%. In 1961, 34% of the married women were working (Coleman, 1965). A 1962 government report stated that the number of women 14 years and over who were gainfully employed had risen steadily from 25% in 1949 to 35% in 1960 (Summary Report, 1962). These statistics reveal a lessening emphasis on the female accepting the traditional wife-mother role. Therefore, quite clearly, education and occupational opportunity have provided the female with alternate role possibilities.

Changing dress modes have probably had a more significant effect on men than on women. Our society has become more tolerant of the in-between types of appearance. Winick (1969) refers to this as sexual crisscrossing. He points out that since World War II clothing and appearance have become increasingly unisexual. Regarding men, Winick states:

> Men are wearing colorful and rakishly epauleted sports jackets, iridescent fabrics, dickies, and bibbed and pleated shirts of fabrics like batiste and voile.
>
> Men's trousers are slimmer and in many instances are worn over girdles of rubber and nylon. Ties are slender and often feminine. The old reliable grey fedora has given way to softer shapes and shades, sometimes topped by gay feathers. Sweaters are less likely to have the traditional V-neck than the boat neck adopted from women's fashions. Padded shoulders on a suit are as out-of-date as wide lapels and a tucked-in waist. The new look is the soft

> slender, straight-line silhouette that also characterizes the shift, which has been the major women's dress style of the 1960's.

It is difficult to say what effect this may have on man's masculinity, but it certainly does not make masculinity as obvious with some as it once did. Several studies recently conducted regarding parent-youth interaction that boys' long hair and dress are a major source of conflict (Phi Delta Kappan, 1969; Generations Apart, 1969) which might cause one to at least hypothesize that observable male-masculinity and female-femininity is still desired by many.

TASK THREE: LEARNING ACCEPTANCE AND USE OF ONE'S OWN BODY

Goal: To become aware of one's body so it may be viewed with pride and satisfaction; to regard one's body well enough that appropriate social use is extended.

Biological Basis: Termination of childhood is marked by endocrine changes, which results in an increase in growth rates for breasts, ovaries, and uterus in girls and size of testes, scrotum, and penis in boys. Additional pubertal changes include menstruation by girls, voice change by boys, and pigmented and axillary hair by both around 12 years of age.

Psychological Basis: A major problem which one encounters during this period is the beginning of learning how to channel sexual energy and drive into socially acceptable behaviors. It is often compounded by (1) physical attractiveness, (2) accelerated physical growth, and (3) parental protectiveness, that leaves dubious reactions to early adolescent acceptance of one's body.

If adolescents are to accept themselves and learn how to use their bodies socially, two questions must be resolved. First, "How can I handle the biological changes and newly acquired sexual capabilities within myself?" Second, "What are the acceptable ways to use my body within my social environment?"

An awareness of what changes will take place is most beneficial to the adolescent. Adolescent girls experience the beginnings of breast development about 10.5 years, pigmented hair development in the pubic area about 11, and menarche about 12. Boys initially experience growth in testes and penis around 12 and pigmented pubic hair around 13, which are part of their growth spurt which begins about 12.5 years and peaks around 14 (Meredith, 1967). Winter (1969) has listed changes during adolescence by sex, which are in Table 1.

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TABLE I

CHANGES DURING ADOLESCENCE BY SEX

Girls	*Boys*
Growth in pubic hair	Growth in pubic hair
Growth of hair under arms	Growth in hair under arms
Light growth of hair on face	Heavy growth of hair on face
Light growth of hair on body	Heavy growth of hair on body
Slight growth of larnyx	Considerable growth of larnyx
Moderate lowering of voice	Considerable lowering of voice
Eruption of second molars	Eruption of second molars
Slight thickening of muscles	Considerable thickening of muscles
Widening of hips	Widening of shoulders
Increase in perspiration	Increase in perspiration
Development of breasts	Slight temporary development of breasts around nipples
No change in hairline	Receding hairline at temples
Manstrual cycle	Involuntary ejaculations
No change in neck size	Enlargement of neck
Growth of ovaries and uterus	Growth of penis and testicles

Many adolescent attitudes toward the body come from comparison with other adolescents. Differences typically cause anxiety. Research has shown they are particularly concerned with height, weight, fatness, thinness, facial blemishes, largeness or smallness of hips and breasts in girls, and smallness or largeness of the genitals in boys (Angelino and Mech, 1955). Our society emphasizes physical appearance and maturation. The closer a person's body fits the "normal," the greater the social reinforcement. For those youths whose bodies do not fit the norm, anxiety may occur, often resulting in negative self-feelings. As Havighurst expressed it, it makes the adolescent question "Am I normal?"

Society prefers its girls to look feminine and be attractive to boys. It also wants its boys to be masculine, to gain recognition among other boys, and to be popular with girls. Adolescent anxiety toward personal appearance can be reduced if youths can learn to accept themselves. To be proud and satisfied with one's self is an important developmental task.

TASK FOUR: BEHAVIORAL AND EMOTIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF PARENTS AND OTHER ADULTS

Goal: To break infantile ties and develop more independent adolescent relationships with parents. To develop behavioral autonomy as a basis for an emerging values system.

Biological Basis: As an adolescent becomes older, interests broaden and activities outside the home increase. The primary biological basis is chronological age, although an increasing sexual maturation may enhance broadened interests.

Psychological Basis: As adolescents develop more peer relationships they begin exercising behavioral independence. In so doing, they often run into conflicts with parents and the adult world. Their physical maturation causes them to want less controls and inhibitions from parents. Social skills learned through peer interaction facilitates an increasing self-responsibility for one's actions and creates a degree of emotional as well as behavioral independence.

The task of becoming independent has always been a difficult one for American adolescents. The ambivalent conflict is affected by the need to relinquish childhood ties on the one hand and to find sufficient independent behaviors that do not overpower the adolescent on the other. The more rapid and drastic the change, the more the adolescent will experience conflict. Therefore, while it is well and good that youths learn to throw off habits of dependency on adults, it should not be without some parental guidance.

Society desires an adequately functioning adult. This begins in childhood as parents allow their children to exercise initiative and responsibility that will later permit them to make their own way with minimal dependence on their parents. This can be enhanced if parents have an awareness of their child's need to become autonomous. Families which do are usually characterized by warmth and concern, and democratic household procedures. With today's changing society and an increasing confrontation with the "generation gap," the problems of behavioral autonomy are emphasized.

TASK FIVE: STRIVING TOWARD ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

Goal: Learning the effective use of limited economic resources in preparation for earning a living, thus achieving economic independence in adulthood.

Biological Basis: None. Full physical strength may facilitate, but is not necessary to, the accomplishment of this task.

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Psychological Basis: Today's youths find a delay in the fulfillment of this task. The lessening number of manual jobs and the increasing educational requirements for many jobs have forced postponement of gaining economic independence for many youths. With the perpetuation of the middle class value of doing a full day's work combined with a dissatisfied delay of entering the occupational field, the assurance of knowing that you are capable of earning your own way is delayed, often resulting in anxiety or self-doubts.

During adolescence, making some preparation for economic independence becomes a tremendously important but difficult task. Our highly technological and industrialized society, which features computers and automation, makes it increasingly difficult for our adolescents to get work experience while they are growing up. If it were possible for adolescents to have direct and successful work experiences it could lend much to the accomplishment of this task.

Achieving assurance of economic independence is obviously related to occupational opportunity. Automation has reduced the number of unskilled jobs to 5% of all available jobs (Wolfbein, 1964) to say nothing of the number of semiskilled and skilled jobs that are now obsolescent. Then, there are slightly over one million youths 16-21 years old who are out of school and unemployed (Summary Report, 1962). Affluence has told another group of youths that it is not necessary to have a job during adolescence. Therefore, for youths that fall into these areas there is limited, if any, opportunity to gain the assurance of personal capability to be economically independent. For such youths, both economic independence and occupation become either distant or unrealistic goals. In some cases, this task is unresolved until an occupational choice has been determined or a person has completed some type of post-high-school training or education.

TASK SIX: VOCATIONAL SELECTION AND PREPARATION

Goal: To become aware of the changing occupational world. To prepare for an occupation which is realistic and meaningful.

Biological Basis: None. By the time an adolescent has the opportunity to learn and apply occupational skills, he has an accompanying physical maturation.

Psychological Basis: By the time students reach the twelfth grade they have formulated fairly definite ideas about what they want to do occupationally. With a reduction in skilled jobs, youths are more involved in specific educational programs which will open occupational fields to them.

During adolescence, decisions regarding an occupational choice are tremendously important. It is the time, as Gold and Douvan put it, when the "child presumably becomes critically aware of the work life -- of the need to choose a vocation toward which he can gear education, and other instrumental activities, of the variety of work roles, of the relationship that binds adulthood, economic independence, and vocational responsibility into a tight nexus." This task is compounded by our highly industrialized and technological society, which prolongs adolescence. The number of adolescent jobs available is limited, quite often meaningless, and of little practical usefulness.

Job experience during adolescence may have a positive relationship to subsequent occupational choice. In a study done by Slocum and Empey (1959), it was found that meaningful work experience had an effect on occupational choice. Most studies have been done on aspirational levels of students. In general, students tend to aspire to a high goal (Garrison, 1955). In many cases this has been influenced by the underlying cultural pressure that indicates a man's worth is directly related to a man's occupation and his ability to be successful in it.

In other youths, aspirations are affected by their needs. Just as needs may influence choice, needs may change, which in turn realign occupational goals. To discern one's needs and one's goal during adolescence is a difficult task, especially since most youths are exhorted to go to college, or to take training in addition to high school before entering the job market. As a result two conditions exist.

First, due to technological advances many skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs no longer exist. In 1952, Havighurst stated, "Employers want workers who can read and write, and when the labor supply is plentiful, employers like to insist on a high school diploma as a prerequisite. This is a convenient way of selecting people who can learn a new job fairly rapidly." Today, this is no longer true. Employers are considerably more selective and occupational requirements are more stringent. The result is a prolongation of the adolescent's selecting, preparing, and actually becoming involved in the occupational world.

A second important facet of this development task is that it is becoming increasingly vital for adolescent girls. Many opportunities exist today for women which did not exist prior to the 1960's. Therefore, many jobs once awarded the male are now given to females if they have the necessary job qualifications. The task for females is relatively new but more complex than it is for men, because they (1) must discern occupational choices that are most accessible to them, and (2) many females still regard any occupational choice as a tentative one, depending upon whom they marry and his vocational field.

In analysis, the occupational world is more difficult to enter today than it has been before. Occupational mobility, job obsolescence, and changing job requirements point out the importance of adolescent awareness of the changing occupational world. Indeed, perhaps the most successful career prototype hinges around the adolescent who acquires transferable occupational skills.

TASK SEVEN: PREPARING AND ACCEPTING THE ROLE OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Goal: To become attached to a member of the opposite sex. To develop an understanding of the varying relationships in marriage and family life.

Biological Basis: Physical and sexual maturation facilitates the attachment of the sexes.

Psychological Basis: Adolescents must experience the naturalness of sexual attractiveness to the opposite sex. As an attachment becomes stronger, attitudes toward sexual involvement, marriage, and rearing a family begin emerging. The more aware one is of the involvement and commitment necessary, the more realistic will be the emerging attitudes.

Marriage is held as the core of social life. Attitudes and values toward marriage vary according to the culture and social class influencing the individual. The varying patterns of marriage and attitudes toward the marital relationship point out an increasing need for family life education.

Learning an appropriate sex role in marriage involves the acceptance and understanding of socially approved adult male and female roles. This problem often focuses around using the sex drive in a socially acceptable manner. Within today's society sexual morality is shifting, and this points out the necessity of youths learning sex and family life information from reliable sources. Otherwise, much confusion in the adult sex role can arise from misinformation and ignorance (Thornburg, 1969b).

Youths see confusion in today's sexual morality. Problems arise in connection with petting and premarital intercourse that sometimes appear insoluble. In our society there is no single sex code that is appropriate. Therefore, it is difficult to know what will emerge when different standards are suggested by one's peers, parents, or church. Through the conflict, youths would profit if they could see marriage in a variety of dimensions other than sex. The more broadly based the marriage, the greater are the chances of putting all dimensions into a wholesome perspective.

TASK EIGHT: DEVELOPING A SOCIAL AND CIVIC INTELLIGENCE

Goal: To have an intelligent awareness of social factors in order to live within one's society. To prepare for and accept the role of a citizen.

Biological Basis: Most adolescents have reached their maximum intellectual potential by age 15, thus adult intelligence can be exercised.

Psychological Basis: Inasmuch as learning social and civic skills usually follows the learning of academic skills, this task is usually not accomplished before late adolescence. Regarding social competencies, it is necessary for the adolescent to relate his well-being to his family and to their social position. Good civic intelligence is learned through understanding what society gives to the adolescent and, in turn, what the adolescent may give to society. Individual mental capabilities vary tremendously, thus what is learned as a social or civic skill by one person might not be learned by another person because of his inability to comprehend.

Certain intellectual strengths other than academic are needed in order to develop a balanced maturity toward social and civic functions. Garrison (1955) cites the lack of opportunity for adolescents to get involved, other than during wartime, as not aiding youth in developing civic attitudes toward freedom, work, politics, government, law, and human relations. Garrison (1966) finds it equally important to understand one's own possibilities and limitations in order to function effectively within the social order.

Today's youths live in a complex society where social order often becomes confused and civic responsibility is lost in the apparent inconsistencies of our political structure. Yet, when man becomes complex, it is often not possible to restore him to a simple being; rather it may become necessary for people to learn new skills to cope with him.

One such skill includes the ability to tolerate ambiguity. Not all things are black and white today. Not every question that is asked can be answered. The indefiniteness of many social and civic matters requires a tolerant citizenship.

Another skill needed in today's youth is the ability to delay gratification (Hollister, 1966). Constantly we hear demands for immediate action, and ultimatums. We get the democratic process confused with the necessity of immediately satisfying our protesting youth. They need to understand that some things take time, whether we like it or not.

A third socially intellectual skill is worthy of mention--the ability to tolerate seemingly insoluble problems within our society. Currently civil rights and the Viet Nam war are examples of this need. When the answers to these social and political problems will come is uncertain. The ability of the individual to cope with them can strengthen a person's personal frame of reference.

It must be remembered that such social and civic intelligence is not as easily learned as are other educational or occupational skills. The very fact that all people do not have the capacity for acquisition of such skills must be honored in our society.

TASK NINE: ACQUIRING PERSONAL VALUES AND ETHICS

Goal: To attain a value structure which will serve as a guide to behavior. To acquire an ethical philosophy as a guide for decisions.

Biological Basis: None. This task involves a learning, rather than a maturation basis.

Psychological Basis: An individual's value system starts forming early through the social-psychological processes of the family. During adolescence, one's values are tested through experience outside the home. It is during this time that most adolescents find out how closely their values are to their parents' or how much value autonomy they are experiencing. Associated with values is a person's basic philosophy of life. Through considering one's parents, peers, religion, philosophy, and ideals, a value hierarchy emerges and serves as a reference point for adolescent, and subsequent adult, behavior.

A common problem among youths today is the search for identity. In the process a person typically asks questions regarding the who, what, and where of himself. The goal becomes finding one's role in the total life experience.

Disillusionment with today's social structure has caused youths to examine morality, religion, and other traditional questions. Since the 1940's there has appeared to be a decrease in religious interest, and people have sought out philosophies of life without religion as the focal point. It has been an attempt to develop new ethical codes and practices. Recent research indicates that there is an increasing concern for religion by today's youths (Thornburg, 1969a). As with so many other things, religion is viewed as meaningless, and youths find no help within its framework.

Subsequently, youth involvement in issues today has often stemmed from an inability to sort out the superfluous and the traditional. No longer do many enduring values have much significance. Rather than to experience parental value systems and then modify them as one's needs demand, youths are rejecting such value systems, labeling them as traditional, conservative, stifling, etc. Such descriptions have not aided much in solving their dilemma.

Adolescents need a personal reference point. While they may become disenchanted with that which their parents or society build into them, it is still necessary for them to have a value structure in order to know what changes are necessary for an individual to make. Through this process each person can emerge with a personal value system--one which will allow many indefinite and ambiguous questions to be resolved. It is the process of being one's self--morally, ethically, philosophically.

Since adolescence has important long-term effects, and since adolescence today is an increasingly longer period, it is necessary to reevaluate the adolescent's developmental tasks to facilitate the interpretation and transmission of his culture in a way conducive to the total growth of youth. Regardless of the stressful experiences the adolescent encounters, the nature of such experience may have crucial long-range effects on his growth. If the adolescent is aware of what is expected of him, he may better focus on his tasks. Interpreting such tasks in light of contemporary society lends significance to the accomplishment of them. Thus, the functioning adolescent evolves into the functioning adult.

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YOUTH: A 'NEW' STAGE OF LIFE

by

Kenneth Keniston

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YOUTH: A 'NEW' STAGE OF LIFE

Before the twentieth century, adolescence was rarely included as a stage in the life cycle. Early life began with infancy and was followed by a period of childhood that lasted until around puberty, which occurred several years later than it does today. After puberty, most young men and women simply entered some form of apprenticeship for the adult world. Not until 1904, when G. Stanley Hall published his monumental work, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, was this further preadult stage widely recognized. Hall's work went through many editions and was much popularized; "adolescence" became a household word. Hall's classic description of the *sturm und drang*, turbulence, ambivalence, dangers and possibilities of adolescence has since been echoed in almost every discussion of this stage of life.

But it would be incorrect to say that Hall "discovered" adolescence. On the contrary, from the start of the nineteenth century, there was increasing discussion of the "problem" of those past puberty but not yet adult. They were the street gang members and delinquents who made up what one nineteenth-century writer termed the new "dangerous classes;" they were also the recruits to the new public secondary schools being opened by the thousands in the late nineteenth century. And once Hall had clearly defined adolescence, it was possible to look back in history to discover men and women who had shown the hallmarks of this stage long before it was identified and named.

Nonetheless, Hall was clearly reflecting a gradual change in the nature of human development, brought about by the massive transformations of American society in the decades after the Civil War. During these decades, the "working family," where children labored alongside parents in fields and factories, began to disappear; rising industrial productivity created new economic surpluses that allowed millions of teenagers to remain outside the labor force. America changed from a rural agrarian society to an urban industrial society, and this new industrial society demanded on a mass scale not only the rudimentary literacy taught in elementary schools, but higher skills that could only be guaranteed through secondary education. What Hall's concept of adolescence reflected, then, was a real change in the human experience, a change intimately tied to the new kind of industrial society that was emerging in America and Europe.

Today, Hall's concept of adolescence is unshakably enshrined in our view of human life. To be sure, the precise nature of adolescence still remains controversial. Some observers believe that Hall, like most psychoanalytic observers, vastly overestimated the inevitability of turbulence, rebellion and upheaval in this stage of life. But whatever the exact definition of adolescence, no one today doubts its existence. A stage of life that barely existed a century ago is now universally accepted as an inherent part of the human condition.

In the seven decades since Hall made adolescence a household word, American society has once again transformed itself. From the industrial era of the turn of the century, we have moved into a new era without an agreed-upon name --it has been called postindustrial, technological, post-modern, the age of mass consumption, the technetronic age. And a new generation, the first born in this new era of postwar affluence, television, and the Bomb, raised in the cities and suburbs of America, socially and economically secure, is now coming to maturity. Since 1900, the average amount of education received by children has increased by more than six years. In 1900, only 6.4 percent of young Americans completed high school, while today almost eighty percent do, and more than half of them begin college. In 1900, there were only 238,000 college students: in 1970, there are more than seven million, with ten million projected for 1980.

These social transformations are reflected in new public anxieties. The "problem of youth," "the now generation," "troubled youth," "student dissent" and "the youth revolt" are topics of extraordinary concern to most Americans. No longer is our anxiety focused primarily upon the teenager, upon the adolescent of Hall's day. Today we are nervous about new "dangerous classes"--those young men and women of college and graduate school age who can't seem to "settle down" the way their parents did, who refuse to consider themselves adult, and who often vehemently challenge the existing social order....

The factors that have brought this new group into existence parallel in many ways the factors that produced adolescence: rising prosperity, the further prolongation of education, the enormously high educational demands of a postindustrial society. And behind these measurable changes lie other trends less quantitative but even more important: a rate of social change so rapid that it treatens to make obsolete all institutions, values, methodologies and technologies within the lifetime of each generation; a technology that has created not only prosperity and longevity, but power to destroy the planet, whether through warfare or violation of nature's balance; a world of extraordinarily complex social organization, instantaneous communication and constant revolution. The "new" young men and young women emerging today both reflect and react against these trends.

But if we search among the concepts of psychology for a word to describe these young men and women, we find none that is adequate. Characteristically, they are referred to as "late-adolescents-and-young-adults"--a phrase whose very mouth-filling awkwardness attests to its inadequacy. Those who see in youthful behavior the remnants of childhood immaturity naturally incline toward the concept of "adolescence" in describing the unsettled twenty-four-year-old, for this word makes it easier to interpret his objections to war, racism, pollution or imperialism as "nothing but" delayed adolescent rebellion. To those who are more hopeful about today's youth, "young adulthood" seems a more flattering phrase, for it suggests that maturity, responsibility and rationality lie behind the unease and unrest of many contemporary youths.

But in the end, neither label seems fully adequate. The twenty-four-year-old seeker, political activist or graduate student often turns out to have been *through* a period of adolescent rebellion ten years before, to be all too formed in his views, to have a stable sense of himself, and to be much farther along in his psychological development that his fourteen-year-old high school brother. Yet he differs just as sharply from "young adults" of age twenty-four whose place in society is settled, who are married and perhaps parents, and who are fully committed to an occupation. What characterizes a growing minority of postadolescents today is that they have not settled the questions whose answers once defined adulthood: questions of relationship to the existing society, questions of vocation, questions of social role and life-style.

Faced with this dilemma, some writers have fallen back on the concept of "protracted" or "stretched" adolescence--a concept with psychoanalytic origins that suggests that those who find it hard to "settle down" have "failed" the adolescent developmental task of abandoning narcissitic fantasies and juvenile dreams of glory. Thus, one remedy for "protracted adolescence" might be some form of therapy that would enable the young to reconcile themselves to abilities and a world that are rather less than they had hoped. Another interpretation of youthful unease blames society, not the individual, for the "prolongation of adolescence." It argues that youthful unrest springs from the unwillingness of contemporary society to allow young men and women, especially students, to exercise the adult powers of which they are biologically and intellectually capable. According to this view, the solution would be to allow young people to "enter adulthood" and do "real work in the real world" at an earlier age."

Yet neither of these interpretations seems quite to the point. For while some young men and women are indeed victims of the psychological malady of "stretched adolescence," many others are less impelled by juvenile grandiosity than by a rather accurate analysis of the perils and injustices of the world in which they live. And plunging youth into the "adult world" at an earlier age would run directly counter to the wishes of most youths, who view adulthood with all of the enthusiasm of a condemned man for the guillotine. Far from seeking the adult prerogatives of their parents, they vehemently demand a virtually indefinite prolongation of their nonadult state.

If neither "adolescence" nor "early adulthood" quite describes the young men and women who so disturb American society today, what can we call them? My answer is to propose that *we are witnessing today the emergence on a mass scale of a previously unrecognized stage of life,* a stage that intervenes between adolescence and adulthood. I propose to call this stage of life the stage of *youth*, assigning to this venerable but vague term a new and specific meaning. Like Hall's "adolescence," "youth" is in no absolute sense new: indeed, once having defined this stage of life, we can study its historical emergence, locating individuals and groups who have had a "youth" in the past. But what is "new" is that this stage of life is today being entered not by tiny minorities of unusually creative or unusually disturbed young men and women, but by millions of young people in the advanced nations of the world.

To explain how it is possible for "new" stages of life to emerge under changed historical conditions would require a lengthy excursion into the theory of psychological development. It should suffice here to emphasize that the direction and extent of human development--indeed the entire nature of the human life cycle--is by no means predetermined by man's biological constitution. Instead, psychological development results from a complex interplay of constitutional givens (including the rates and phases of biological maturation) and the changing familial, social, educational, economic and political conditions that constitute the matrix in which children develop. Human development can be obstructed by the absence of the necessary matrix, just as it can be stimulated by other kinds of environments. Some social and historical conditions demonstrably slow, retard or block development, while others stimulate, speed and encourage it. A prolongation and extension of development, then, including the emergence of "new" stages of life, can result from altered social, economic and historical conditions.

Like all stages, youth is a stage of transition rather than of completion or accomplishment. To begin to define youth involves three related tasks. First, we need to describe the major *themes* or issues that dominate consciousness, development and behavior during this stage. But human development rarely if ever proceeds on all fronts simultaneously: instead, we must think of development as consisting of a series of sectors or "developmental lines," each of which may be in or out of phase with the others.

MAJOR THEMES IN YOUTH

Perhaps the central conscious issue during youth is the *tension between self and society*. In adolescence, young men and women tend to accept their society's definitions of them as rebels, truants, conformists, athletes or achievers. But in youth, the relationship between socially assigned labels and the "real self" becomes more problematic, and constitutes a focus of central concern. The awareness of actual or potential conflict, disparity, lack of congruence between what one is (one's identity, values, integrity) and the resources and demands of the existing society increases. The adolescent is struggling to define who he is; the youth begins to sense who he is and thus to recognize the possibility of conflict and disparity between his emerging selfhood and his social order.

In youth, *pervasive ambivalence* toward both self and society is the rule: the question of how the two can be made more congruent is often experienced as a central problem of youth. This ambivalence is not the same as definitive rejection of society, nor does it necessarily lead to political activism. For ambivalence may also entail intense self-rejection, including major efforts at self-transformation employing the methodologies of personal transformation that are culturally available in any historical era: monasticism, meditation, psychoanalysis, prayer, hallucinogenic drugs, hard work, religious conversion, introspection, and so forth. In youth, then, the potential and ambivalent conflicts between autonomous selfhood and social involvement--between the maintenance of personal integrity and the achievement of effectiveness in society--are fully experienced for the first time.

The effort to reconcile and accommodate these two poles involves a characteristic stance vis-a-vis both self and world, perhaps best described by the concept of the *wary probe*. For the youthful relationship to the social order consists not merely in the experimentation more characteristic of adolescence, but with now more serious forays into the adult world, through which its vulnerability, strength, integrity and possibilities are assayed. Adolescent experimentation is more concerned with self-definition than are the probes of youth, which may lead to more lasting commitments. This testing, exacting, challenging attitude may be applied to all representatives and aspects of the existing social order, sometimes in anger and expectation of disappointment, sometimes in the urgent hope of finding honor, fidelity and decency in society, and often in both anger and hope. With regard to the self, too, there is constant self-probing in search of strength, weakness, vulnerability and resiliency, constant self-scrutiny designed to test the individual's capacity to withstand or use what his society would make of him, ask of him, and allow him.

Phenomenologically, youth is a time of alternating *estrangement and omnipotentiality*. The estrangement of youth entails feelings of isolation, unreality, absurdity, and disconnectedness from the interpersonal, social and phenomenological world. Such feelings are probably more intense during youth than in any other period of life. In part they spring from the actual disengagement of youth from society; in part they grow out of the psychological sense of incongruence between self and world. Much of the psychopathology of youth involves such feelings, experienced as the depersonalization of the self or the derealization of the world.

Omnipotentiality is the opposite but secretly related pole of estrangement. It is the feeling of absolute freedom, of living in a world of pure possibilities, of being able to change or achieve anything. There may be times when complete self-transformation seems possible, when the self is experienced as putty in one's own hands. At other times, or for other youths, it is the nonself that becomes totally malleable; then one feels capable of totally transforming another's life, or creating a new society with no roots whatsoever in the mire of the past. Omnipotentiality and estrangement are obviously related: the same sense of freedom and possibility that may come from casting off old inhibitions, values and constraints may also lead directly to a feeling of absurdity, disconnectedness and estrangement.

Another characteristic of youth is the *refusal of socialization* and acculturation. In keeping with the intense and wary probing of youth, the individual characteristically begins to become aware of the deep effects upon his personality of his society and his culture. At times he may attempt to break out of his prescribed roles, out of his culture, out of history, and even out of his own skin. Youth is a time, then, when earlier socialization and acculturation is self-critically analyzed, and massive efforts may be made to uproot the now alien traces of historicity, social membership and culture. Needless to say, these efforts are invariably accomplished within a social, cultural and historical context, using historically available methods. Youth's relationship to history is therefore paradoxical. Although it may try to reject history altogether, youth does so in a way defined by its historical era, and these rejections may even come to define that era.

In youth we also observe the emergence of *youth-specific identities* and roles. These contrast both with the more ephemeral enthusiasms of the adolescent and with the more established commitments of the adult. They may last for months, years or a decade, and they inspire deep commitment in those who adopt them. Yet they are inherently temporary and specific to youth: today's youthful hippies, radicals and seekers recognize full well that, however reluctantly, they will eventually become older; and that aging itself will change their status. Some such youth-specific identities may provide the foundation for later commitments; but others must be viewed in retrospect as experiments that failed or as probes of the existing society that achieved their purpose, which was to permit the individual to move on in other directions.

Another special issue during youth is the enormous value placed upon change, transformation and *movement*, and the consequent abhorrence of *stasis*. To change, to stay on the road, to retain a sense of inner development and/or outer momentum is essential to many youths' sense of active vitality. The psychological problems of youth are experienced as most overwhelming when they seem to block change: thus, youth grows panicky when confronted with the feeling of "getting nowhere," of "being stuck in a rut," or of "not moving."

At times the focus of change may be upon the self, and the goal is then to *be moved*. Thus, during youth we see the most strenuous, self-conscious and even frenzied efforts at self-transformation, using whatever religious, cultural, therapeutic or

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chemical means are available. At other times, the goal may be to create movement in the outer world, to *move others:* then we may see efforts at social and political change that in other stages of life rarely possess the same single-minded determination. And on other occasions, the goal is to *move through* the world, and we witness a frantic geographic restlessness, wild swings of upward or downward social mobility, or a compelling psychological need to identify with the highest and the lowest, the most distant and apparently alien.

The need for movement and terror of stasis often are a part of a heightened *valuation of development* itself, however development may be defined by the individual and his culture. In all stages of life, of course, all individuals often wish to change in specific ways: to become more witty, more attractive, more sociable or wealthier. But in youth, specific changes are often subsumed in the devotion to change itself--to "keep putting myself through the changes," "not to bail out," "to keep moving." This valuation of change need not be fully conscious. Indeed it often surfaces only in its inverse form, as the panic or depression that accompanies a sense of "being caught in a rut," "getting nowhere," "not being able to change." But for other youths, change becomes a conscious goal in itself, and elaborate ideologies of the techniques of transformation and the *telos* of human life may be developed.

In youth, as in all other stages of life, *the fear of death* takes a special form. For the infant, to be deprived of maternal support, responsiveness and care is not to exist; for the four-year-old, nonbeing means loss of body intactness (dismemberment, mutilation, castration); for the adolescent, to cease to be is to fall apart, to fragment, splinter, or diffuse into nothingness. For the youth, however, to lose one's essential vitality is merely *to stop*. For some, even self-inflicted death or psychosis may seem preferable to loss of movement; and suicidal attempts in youth often spring from the failure of efforts to change and the resulting sense of being forever trapped in an unmoving present.

The youthful *view of adulthood* is strongly affected by these feelings. Compared to youth, adulthood has traditionally been a stage of slower transformation, when, as Erik H. Erikson has noted, the relative development stability of parents enables them to nurture the rapid growth of their children. This adult deceleration of personal change is often seen from a youthful vantage point as concretely embodied in apparently unchanging parents. It leads frequently to the conscious identification of adulthood with stasis, and to its unconscious equation with death or nonbeing. Although greatly magnified today by the specific political disillusionments of many youths with the "older generation," the adulthood = stasis (= death) equation is inherent in the youthful situation itself. The desire to prolong youth indefinitely springs not only from an accurate perception of the real disadvantages of adult status in any historical era, but from the less conscious and less accurate assumption that to "grow up" is in some ultimate sense to cease to be really alive.

Finally, youths tend to band together with other youths in *youthful countercultures*, characterized by their deliberate cultural distance from the existing social order, but *not* always by active political or other opposition to it. It is a mistake to identify youth as a developmental stage with any one social group, role or organization. But youth *is* a time when solidarity with other youths is especially important, whether the solidarity be achieved in pairs, small groups, or formal organizations. And the groups dominated by those in this stage of life reflect not only the special configurations of each historical era, but also the shared developmental positions and problems of youth. Much of what has traditionally been referred to as "youth culture" is, in the terms here used, adolescent culture; but there are also groups, societies and associations that are truly youthful. In our own time, with the enormous increase in the number of those who are entering youth as a stage of life, the variety and importance of these youthful counter-cultures is steadily growing.

This compressed summary of themes in youth is schematic and interpretive. It omits many of the qualifications necessary to a fuller discussion, and it neglects the enormous complexity of development in any one person in favor of a highly schematic account. Specifically, for example, I do not discuss the ways the infantile, the childish, the adolescent and the truly youthful interact in all real lives. And perhaps most important, my account is highly interpretive, in that it points to themes that underlie diverse acts and feelings, to issues and tensions that unite the often scattered experiences of real individuals. The themes, issues and conflicts here discussed are rarely conscious as such; indeed, if they all were fully conscious, there would probably be something seriously awry. Different youths experience each of the issues here considered with different intensity. What is a central conflict for one may be peripheral or unimportant for another. These remarks, then, should be taken as a first effort to summarize some of the underlying issues that characterize youth as an ideal type.

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THE STORMY DECADE: FACT OR FICTION

by

Albert Bandura

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THE STORMY DECADE: FACT OR FICTION

If you were to walk up to the average man on the street, grab him by the arm and utter the word "adolescence," it is highly probable--assuming he refrains from punching you in the nose--that his associations to this term will include references to storm and stress, tension, rebellion, dependency conflicts, peer-group conformity, black leather jackets, and the like. If you then abandoned your informal street corner experiment, and consulted the professional and popular literature on adolescence, you would become quickly impressed with the prevalence of the belief that adolescence is, indeed, a unique and stormy developmental period (Gallagher & Harris, 1958; Hurlock, 1955; Josselyn, 1948; Mohr & Despres, 1958; Parson, 1950; Pearson, 1958).

The adolescent presumably is engaged in a struggle to emancipate himself from his parents. He, therefore, resists any dependence upon them for their guidance, approval or company, and rebels against any restrictions and controls that they impose upon his behavior. To facilitate the process of emancipation, he transfers his dependency to the peer group whose values are typically in conflict with those of his parents. Since his behavior is now largely under the control of peer-group members, he begins to adopt idiosyncratic clothing, mannerisms, lingo, and other forms of peer-group fad behavior. Because of the conflicting values and pressures to which the adolescent is exposed, he is ambivalent, frightened, unpredictable, and often irresponsible in his behavior. Moreover, since the adolescent finds himself in a transition stage in which he is neither child, nor adult, he is highly confused even about his own identity.

The foregoing storm and stress picture of adolescence receives little support from detailed information that Dr. Walters and I obtained in a study of middle-class families of adolescent boys (Bandura & Walters, 1959). Let us compare the popular version of adolescence with our research findings.

PARENTAL RESTRICTIVENESS

At adolescence, parents supposedly become more controlling and prohibitive. We found the very opposite to be true. By the time the boys had reached adolescence, they had internalized the parents' values and standards of behavior to a large degree; consequently, restrictions and external controls had been lightened as the boys became increasingly capable of assuming responsibility for their own behavior, and in directing their own activities. The parents were highly trustful of their boys' judgment and felt that externally imposed limits were, therefore, largely unnecessary. The following interview excerpts provide some typical parental replies to inquiries concerning the restrictions they placed on their boys:

M. (MOTHER): I don't have to do anything like that any more. I think he's getting so mature now, he's sort of happy medium. I don't have to do much with him.

I. (INTERVIEWER): What are some of the restrictions you have for him? How about going out at night?

F. (FATHER): We trust the boy. We never question him.

I: Are there any things you forbid him from doing when he is with his friends?

F: At his age I would hate to keep telling him that he mustn't do this, or mustn't do that. I have very little trouble with him in that regard. Forbidding I don't think creeps into it because he ought to know at 17, right from wrong.

I: Are there any friends with whom you have discouraged him from associating?

F: No, not up to now. They are very lovely boys.

I: How about using bad language?

F: Only once, only once have I; of course I'm a little bit hard of hearing in one ear, and sometimes he gets around the wrong side and takes advantage of that.

The boys' accounts were essentially in agreement with those given by the parents. In response to our questions concerning parental demands and controls, the boys pointed out that at this stage in their development parental restraints were no longer necessary. An illustrative quotation, taken from one of the boys' interviews, is given below:

I: What sort of things does your mother forbid you to do around the house?

B: Forbid me to do? Gee, I don't think there's ever anything. The house is mine as much as theirs...Oh, can't whistle, can't throw paper up in the air, and can't play the radio and phonograph too loud. Rules of the house; anybody, I mean, it's not just me....

I: Are you expected to stay away from certain places or people?

B: She knows I do. I'm not expected; I mean, she figures I'm old enough to take care of myself now. They never tell me who to stay away from or where. Well, I mean, they don't expect me to sleep down on Skid Row or something like that....

Since the boys adopted their parents' standards of conduct as their own, they did not regard their parents and other authority figures as adversaries, but more as supportive and guiding influences.

DEPENDENCE-INDEPENDENCE CONFLICTS

The view that adolescents are engaged in a struggle to emancipate themselves from their parents also receives little support from our study.

Although the boys' dependency behavior had been fostered and encouraged during their childhood, independence training had begun early and was, therefore, largely accomplished by the time of adolescence. A similar early and gradual decrease in dependency upon adults is reported by Heathers (1955), who compared the dependency behavior of two-year-old and of five-year-old children. He found that, even over this small age range, dependency on adults had declined, whereas dependency on other children had increased.

For most of the boys that we studied, the emancipation from parents had been more or less completed rather than initiated at adolescence. In fact, the development of independence presented more of a conflict for the parents, than it did for the boys. Some of the parents, particularly the fathers, regretted the inevitable loss of the rewards that their sons' company had brought them.

I: Do you feel that you spend as much time with Raymond as other fathers do with their sons, or more?

F: I would say about average, but perhaps I should spend more time with him, because as the years go by, I see that he's growing into manhood and I'm losing a lot of him every year. When he was younger, I think I was with him more than I am now. I think, as he gets older, he's had a tendency to get his pleasures from people his own age, this is fine as long as he makes home his headquarters. That's all I want.

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Although the boys devoted an increasing amount of time to peer-group activities, they, nevertheless, retained close ties to their parents and readily sought out their help, advice, and support when needed.

PARENT-PEER-GROUP CONFLICT

The boys' primary reference groups were not selected indiscriminately. Since the adolescents tended to choose friends who shared similar value systems and behavioral norms, membership in the peer group did not generate familial conflicts. In fact, the peer group often served to reinforce and to uphold the parental norms and standards of behavior that the boys had adopted. Consequently, the parents were generally pleased with their sons' associates because they served as an important source of control in situations where the parents could not be present.

An essentially similar picture of adolescence, based on an intensive study of middle-class families, has been presented by Elkin and Westley (1955; 1956). They summarize their findings as follows:

> 'Family ties are close and the degree of basic family consensus is high. The parents are interested in all the activities of their children, and the adolescents, except for the area of sex, frankly discuss their own behavior and problems with them. In many areas of life, there is joint participation between parents and children....In independent discussion by parents and adolescents of the latters' marriage and occupational goals, there was a remarkable level of agreement. The adolescents also acknowledged the right of the parents to guide them, for example, accepting, at least manifestly, the prerogatives of the parents to set rules for the number of dates, hours of return from dates, and types of parties. The parents express relatively little concern about the socialization problems or peer group activities of their children (1955, p. 682).

SOURCES OF THE ADOLESCENT MYTHOLOGY

What are the origins of the mythology about adolescence, and why does it persist?

Overinterpretation of Superficial Signs of Nonconformity

The view that adolescence is a period of rebellion is often supported by references to superficial signs of nonconformity, particularly adolescent fad behavior.

It is certainly true that adolescents frequently display idiosyncratic fashions and interest patterns. Such fads, however, are not confined to adolescent age groups. Several years ago, for example, coon skin caps and Davy Crockett apparel were highly fashionable among pre-adolescent boys. When Davy Crockett began to wane a new fad quickly emerged--every youngster and a sizeable proportion of the adult population were gyrating with the hoola-hoop. The hoola-hoop also suffered a quick death by replacement.

If pre-adolescent children display less fad behavior than do adolescents, this difference may be primarily due to the fact that young children do not possess the economic resources with which to purchase distinctive apparel, the latest phonograph records, and discriminative ornaments, rather than a reflection of a sudden heightening of peer-group conformity pressures during adolescence. The pre-adolescent does not purchase his own clothing, he has little voice in how his hair shall be cut and, on a 15-cent a week allowance, he is hardly in a position to create new fads, or to deviate too widely from parental tastes and standards.

How about adult fad behavior? A continental gentleman conducts a fashion show in Paris and almost instantly millions of hemlines move upward or downward; the human figure is sacked, trapezed, chemised, or appareled in some other fantastic creation.

At a recent cocktail party the present writer was cornered by an inquiring lady who expressed considerable puzzlement over adolescents' fascination for unusual and bizarre styles. The lady herself was draped with a sack, wearing a preposterous object on her head, and spiked high heel shoes that are more likely to land one in an orthopedic clinic, than to transport one across the room to the olives.

Fashion-feeders determine the styles, the colors, and the amount of clothing that shall be worn. It would be rare, indeed, to find an adult who would ask a sales clerk for articles of clothing in vogue two or three years ago. As long as social groups contain a status hierarchy, and tolerance for upward mobility within the social hierarchy, one can expect imitation of fads and fashions from below which, in turn, forces inventiveness from the elite in order to preserve the status differentiations.

Mass Media Sensationalism

The storm and stress view of adolescence is also continuously reinforced by mass media sensationalism. Since the deviant adolescent excites far more interest than the typical high school student, the adolescent is usually portrayed in literature, television, and in the movies as passing through a neurotic or a semi-delinquent phase of development (Kiell, 1959). These productions, many of which are designed primarily to generate visceral reactions or to sell copy, are generally viewed as profound and sensitive portrayals of the *typical* adolescent turmoil. Holden Caulfield, the central character in *The Catcher in the Rye* (Salinger, 1945), has thus become the prototypic adolescent.

Generalization from Samples of Deviant Adolescents

Professional people in the mental health field are apt to have most contact with delinquent adolescents, and are thus prone to base their accounts of adolescence on observations of atypical samples. By and large, the description of the modal pattern of adolescent behavior fits most closely the behavior of the deviant ten percent of the adolescent population that appears repeatedly in psychiatric clinics, juvenile probation departments, and in the newspaper headlines.

Our study of the family relationship ships of adolescents also included a sample of antisocially aggressive boys. In the families of these hyper-aggressive adolescents there was indeed a great deal of storm and stress for many years. The boys' belligerence and rebellion, however, was not a unique product of adolescence. The defiant oppositional pattern of behavior was present all along, but because of their greater size and power the parents were able to suppress and to control, through coercive methods, their sons' belligerence during the early childhood years. By the time of adolescence, however, some of the boys had reached the stage where they were almost completely independent of the parents for the satisfaction of their social and physical needs. Moreover, they had developed physically to the point where they were larger and more powerful than their parents. With the achievement of the power reversal and the decrease of the parents' importance as sources of desired rewards, a number of the boys exhibited a blatant indifference to their parents' wishes about which they could now do little or nothing.

I: What sort of things does your mother object to your doing when you are out with your friends?

B: She don't know what I do.

I: What about staying out late at night?

B: She says, "Be home at 11 o'clock." I'll come home at one.

I: How about using the family car?

B: No. I wrecked mine, and my father wrecked his a month before I wrecked mine, and I can't even get near his. And I got a license and everything. I'm going to hot wire it some night and cut out.

I: How honest do you feel you can be to your mother about where you've been and what things you have done?

B: I tell her where I've been period.

I: How about what you've done?

B: No. I won't tell her what I've done. If we're going out in the hills for a beer bust, I'm not going to tell her. I'll tell her I've been to a show or something.

I: How about your father?

B: I'll tell him where I've been period.

The heightened aggression exhibited by these boys during adolescence primarily reflected response predispositions that became more evident following the power reversal in the parent-child relationship, rather than an adolescence-induced stress.

Inappropriate Generalization from Cross-Cultural Data

It is interesting to note that many writers cite cross-cultural data as supporting evidence for the discontinuity view of child development in the American society. The reader suddenly finds himself in the Trobriand Islands, or among the Arapesh, rather than in the suburbs of Minneapolis or in the town square of Oskaloosa.

In many cultures the transition from child to adult status is very abrupt. Childhood behavior patterns are strongly strongly reinforced, but as soon as the child reaches pubescence he is subjected to an elaborate initiation ceremony which signifies his abrupt transformation into adult status. Following the ceremonial initiation the young initiate acquires new rights and privileges, new responsibilities and, in some cultures, he is even assigned a new name and a new set of parents who undertake his subsequent social training in the skills and habits required to perform the adult role.

In our culture, on the other hand, except for the discontinuities in the socialization of sexual behavior, there is considerable continuity in social training. As was mentioned earlier, independence and responsibility training, for example, are begun in early childhood and adult-role patterns are achieved through a gradual process of successive approximations. This is equally true in the development of many other forms of social behavior.

It should be mentioned in passing, however, that cross-cultural studies have been valuable in demonstrating that stresses and conflicts are not inevitable concomitants of pubescence, but but rather products of cultural conditioning. Indeed, in some societies, adolescence is one of the pleasant periods of social development (Mead, 1930).

Overemphasis of the Biological Determination of Heterosexual Behavior

With the advent of pubescence the adolescent is presumably encumbered by a powerful biologically determined sexual drive that produces a relatively sudden and and marked increase in heterosexual behavior. The net result of the clash between strong physiological urges demanding release and even more substantial social prohibitions, is a high degree of conflict, frustration, anxiety and diffuse tension. In contrast to this widely-accepted biological drive theory, evidence from studies of cross-species and cross-cultural sexual behavior reveals that human sexuality is governed primarily by social conditioning, rather than endocrinal stimulation (Ford & Beach, 1951).

The cross-species data demonstrate that hormonal control of sexual behavior decreases with advancing evolutionary status. In lower mammalian species, for example, sexual activities are completely regulated by gonadal hormones; among primates sexual behavior is partially independent of physiological stimulation; while human eroticism is exceedingly variable and essentially independent of hormonal regulation. Humans can be sexually aroused before puberty and long after natural or surgical loss of reproductive glands. Thus, one would induce sexual behavior in a rodent Don Juan by administering androgen, whereas presenting him lascivious pictures of a well-endowed mouse would have no stimulating effects whatsoever. By contrast, one would rely on sexually-valenced social stimuli, rather than on hormonal injections for producing erotic arousal in human males.

The prominent role of social learning factors in determining the timing, incidence and form of sexual activities of humans is also clearly revealed in the wide cross-cultural variability in patterns of sexual behavior. Sex-arousing properties have been conditioned to an extremely broad range of stimuli, but the cues that are sexually stimulating in one culture would, in many instances, prove sexually repulsive to members of another society. A similar diversity exists in the timing of the emergence of sexual interest and in the choice of sexual objects. In cultures that permit and encourage heterosexual behavior at earlier, or at later, periods of a child's development than is true for American youth, no marked changes in sexual behavior occur during adolescence.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that "sexual tensions" are not an inevitable concomitant of pubescence. Furthermore, any significant increase in hetereosexual activities during adolescence is due more to cultural conditioning and expectations than to endocrinal changes.

Stage Theories of Personality Development

Until recently, most of the theoretical conceptualizations of the developmental process have subscribed to some form of stage theory. According to the Freudian viewpoint (1949), for example, behavioral changes are programmed in an oral-anal-phallic sequence; Erikson (1950) characterizes personality development in terms of an eight-stage sequence; Gesell (1943) describes marked predictable cyclical changes in behavior over yearly or even shorter temporal intervals; and Piaget (1948, 1954) delineates numerous different stages for different classes of responses.

Although there appears to be relatively little consensus among these theories concerning the number and the content of stages considered to be crucial, they all share in common the assumption that social behavior can be categorized in terms of a relatively prefixed sequence of stages with varying degrees of continuity or discontinuity between successive developmental periods. Typically, the spontaneous emergence of these elaborate age-specific modes of behavior is attributed to ontogenetic factors. The seven-year-old, for example, is supposed to be withdrawn; the eight-year-old turns into an exuberant, expansive and buoyant child; the fifteen-year-old becomes remote and argumentative; parents are finally rewarded at sweet sixteen (Ilg & Ames, 1955). In truth, all seven-year-olds are not withdrawn, all eight-year-olds are not exuberant, expansive and buoyant, nor are all fifteen-year-olds aloof and argumentative. I am also acquainted with sixteen-year-olds who are anything but sweet. The withdrawn five-year-old is likely to remain a relatively withdrawn eight-, nine-, and sixteen-year-old unless he undergoes social-learning experiences that are effective in fostering more expressive behavior.

Although the traditional stage theories of child development are of questionable validity (Bandura & McDonald, 1963; Bandura & Mischel, 1963; Bandura & Walters, 1963), they have nevertheless been influential in promoting the view that adolescence represents a form of stage behavior that suddenly appears at pubescence, and as suddenly disappears when adulthood is achieved.

Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

If a society labels its adolescents as "teen-agers," and expects them to be rebellious, unpredictable, sloppy, and wild in their behavior, and if this picture is repeatedly reinforced by the mass media, such cultural expectations may very well force adolescents into the role of rebel. In this way, a false expectation may serve to instigate and maintain certain role behaviors, in turn, then reinforce the originally false belief.

In discussing our research findings with parents' groups I have often been struck by the fact that most parents who are experiencing positive and rewarding relationships with their pre-adolescent children are, nevertheless, waiting apprehensively and bracing themselves for the stormy adolescent period. Such vigilance can very easily create a small turbulence at least. When the prophesied storm fails to materialize, many parents begin to entertain doubts about the normality of their youngster's social development.

In closing, I do not wish to leave you with the impression that adolescence is a stress- or problem-free period of development. No age group is free from stress or adjustment problems. Our findings suggest, however, that the behavioral characteristics exhibited by children during the so-called adolescent stage are lawfully related to, and consistent with, pre-adolescent social behavior.

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YOUTH AND THE LIFE CYCLE

by

Erik Erikson

Erik Erikson, "Youth and the Life Cycle," in Judith Reed, Ed., *Children Today*, March and April, 7, (Washington: Children's Bureau, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960), Government Publication.

YOUTH AND THE LIFE CYCLE

QUESTION: Are there any points about your concepts of psychosocial development which you would now like to stress in the light of what you have heard about how they have been interpreted during the past decade in the training of professional persons and through them of parents and future parents?

Yes, I am grateful for the opportunity of making a few observations on the reception of these concepts. You emphasize their influence on teaching in various fields; let me pick out a few misunderstandings.

I should confess to you here how it all started. It was on a drive in the countryside with Mrs. Erikson that I became a bit expansive, telling her about a kind of ground plan in the human life cycle, which I seemed to discern in life histories. After a while she began to write, urging me just to go on; she had found my "plan" immediately convincing. Afterwards, a number of audiences of different professional backgrounds had that same sense of conviction--so much so that I (and others) became somewhat uneasy: after all, these psychosocial signposts are hardly *concepts* yet, even if the whole plan represents a valid *conception*, one which suggests a great deal of work.

What Mrs. Erikson and I subsequently offered to the White House Conference of 1950 was a kind of worksheet, which has, indeed, been used by others as well as myself in scientific investigation, and well integrated in a few textbooks. But its "convincingness" has also led to oversimplification. Let me tell you about a few.

There has been a tendency here and there to turn the eight stages into a sort of rosary of achievement, a device for counting the fruits of each stage--trust, autonomy, initiative, and so forth--as though each were achieved as a permanent trait. People of this bent are apt to leave out the negative counterparts of each stage, as if the healthy personality had permanently conquered these hazards. The fact is that the healthy personality must reconquer them continuously in the same way that the body's metabolism resists decay. All that we learn are certain fundamental means and mechanisms for retaining and regaining mastery. Life is a sequence not only of developmental but also of accidental crises. It is hardest to take when both types of crisis coincide.

In each crisis, under favorable conditions, the positive is likely to outbalance the negative, and each reintegration builds strength for the next crisis. But the negative is always with us to some degree in the form of a measure of infantile anxiety, fear of abandonment--a residue of immaturity carried throughout life, which is perhaps the price man has to pay for a childhood long enough to permit him to be the learning and the teaching animal, and thus to achieve his particular mastery of reality.

You may be interested to know that further clinical research has indicated that our dream life often depicts a recovery of mastery along the lines of these stages. Moreover, nurses have observed that any adult who undergoes serious surgery has to repeat the battle with these nemeses in the process of recovery. A person moves up and down the scale of maturity, but if his ego has gained a positive balance during his developmental crises the downward movements will be less devastating than if the balance, at one stage or another, was in the negative.

Of all the positive aspects mentioned, trust seems to have been the most convincing--so convincing, in fact, that some discussions never reach a consideration of the other stages. I don't mean to detract from the obvious importance of trust as the foundation of the development of a healthy personality. A basic sense of trust in living as such, developed in infancy through the reciprocal relationship of child and mother, is essential to winning the positive fruits of all the succeeding crises in the life cycle: maybe this is what Christmas, with its Madonna images, conveys to us. Yet, it is the nature of human life that each succeeding crisis takes place within a widened social radius where an ever-larger number of significant persons have a bearing on the outcome. There is in childhood, first, the maternal person, then the parental combination, then the basic family and other instructing adults. Youth demands "confirmation" from strangers who hold to a design of life; and later, the adult needs challenges from mates and partners, and even from his growing children and expanding works, in order to continue to grow himself. And all of these relationships must be imbedded in an "ethos," a cultural order, to guide the individual's course.

In our one-family culture (supported by pediatricians and psychiatrists who exclusively emphasize the mother-child relationship) we tend to lose sight of the fact that other people besides parents are important to youth. Too often we ask only where a given youth came from and what he once was, and not also where he was going, and who was ready to receive him and his intentions and his specific gifts. Thus we have movements to punish parents for the transgressions of their children, ignoring all the other persons and environmental factors that entered into the production of a young person's unacceptable behavior and failed to offer support to his positive search.

Another way in which the life cycle theory has been oversimplified is in the omission of stages which do not fit into the preconceived ideas of the person who is adopting or adapting the theory. Thus a large organization devoted to parenthood distributed a list of the stages but omitted *integrity vs. despair*--the problem of senescence. This is too easy a way to dispose of grandparents: it robs life of an inescapable final step; and, of course, it defeats this whole conception of an intrinsic order in the life cycle.

This kind of omission ignores the "cogwheeling" of infantile and adult stages--the fact that each further stage of growth in a given individual is not only dependent upon the relatively successful completion of his own previous stages, but also on the completion of the subsequent stages in those other individuals with whom he interacts and whom he accepts as models.

Finally, I should point to the fact that what my psychoanalytic colleagues warned me of most energetically has, on occasion, come to pass: even sincere workers have chosen to ignore my emphasis on the intrinsic relation of the psychosocial to the psychosexual stages which form the basis of much of Freud's work.

All of these misuses, however, may be to a large extent the fault of my choice of words. The use of simple, familiar words like "trust" and "mistrust" apparently leads people to assume that they know "by feel" what the theory is all about. Perhaps this semantic problem would have been avoided if I had used Latin terms, which call for definitions.

I may point out, however, that I originally suggested my terms as a basis for discussions—discussions led by people who have an idea of the interrelatedness of all aspects of human development. For the eight stages of psychosocial development are, in fact, inextricably entwined in and derived from the various stages of psychosexual development that were described by Freud, as well as from the child's stages of physical, motor, and cognitive development. Each type of development affects the other and is affected by it. Thus, I feel that discussants would do well to study each key word in its origins, in its usage in various periods and regions, and in other languages. Simple words that touch upon universal human values have their counterpart in every living language, and can become vehicles of understanding at international conferences.

Incidentally, I made up one new word because I thought it was needed. To me, "generativity" described the chief characteristic of the mature adult. It was turned into a comfortable, if inaccurate, homespun word before it ever left the Fact-Finding Committee of 1950. I had deliberately chosen "generativity" rather than "parenthood," or "creativity," because these narrowed the matter down to a biological and an artistic issue instead of describing the deep absorption in guiding the young or in helping to create a new world for the young, which is a mark of maturity in parents and nonparents, working people and "creative" people alike.

Enough of this fault-finding! But it *is* interesting to see what can happen to new ideas and you *did* ask me.

Question: During the past 10 years you have been treating and studying mentally ill young people at a public clinic in a low-income area in Pittsburgh and at a private, comparatively expensive, mental hospital in the Berkshires. Have you found any common denominator in the disturbances of these patients—from such opposite walks of life—that would seem to point to any special difficulty harassing the young people of our land today?

Since 1950, I have concentrated on the life histories of sick young people in late adolescence and early adulthood primarily in order to study one of the crises magnified, as it were, with the clinical microscope. I think that our initial formulations of the identity crisis have been clinically validated and much refined.

Many of these sick young people in their late teens and early twenties had failed during their adolescence to win out in the struggle against identity confusion. They were suffering so seriously from a feeling of being (or, indeed, wanting to be) "nobody" that they were withdrawing from reality, and in some cases even attempting to withdraw from life itself: in other words, they were regressing to a position where trust had to be reinstated. Their malaise proved to be related to the same sense of diffuseness which drives other young adults to incessant and sometimes delinquent activity—an effort to show the world, including themselves, that they are "somebody" even if deep down they do not believe it.

In the meantime, of course, the identity issue has been taken up by many writers and by some magazines, almost in the form of a slogan. We are prone to think that we have cornered an issue when we have found a name for it, and to have resolved it when we have found something to blame. So now we blame "the changing world."

Actually, there is no reason why youth should not participate with enthusiasm in radical change; young people are freer for change than we are. The bewildering thing for them must be that we now complain about change, having eagerly caused it ourselves with inventions and discoveries; that we seem to have played at change rather than to have planned it. If we had the courage of our inventions, if we would grow into the world we have helped to create, and would give youth co-responsibility in it, I think that all the potential power of the identity crisis would serve a better world than we can now envisage.

Let me say a word about identity, or rather about what it is not. The young person seeking an identity does not go around saying, even to himself, "Who am I?" as an editorial in a national magazine suggested last year's college graduates were doing on their way home. Nor does the person with a secure sense of identity usually stop to think or to brag about the fact that he has this priceless possession, and of what it consists. He simply feels and acts predominantly in tune with himself, his capacities, and his opportunities; and he has the inner means and finds the outer ways to recover from experiences which impair this feeling. He knows where he fits (or knowingly prefers not to fit) into present conditions and developments.

This sense of a coincidence between inner resources, traditional values, and opportunities of action is derived from a fusion of slowly grown, unconscious personality processes--and contemporary social forces. It has its earliest beginnings in the infant's first feelings of affirmation by maternal recognition and is nurtured on the quality and consistency of the parental style of upbringing. Thus identity is in a sense an outgrowth of all the earlier stages; but the crucial period for its development to maturity comes with the adolescent crisis.

Every adolescent is apt to go through some serious struggle at one time or another. The crises of earlier stages may return in some form as he seeks to free himself from the alignments of childhood because of both his own eagerness for adulthood and the pressures of society. For a while he may distrust what he once trusted implicitly; may be ashamed of his body, and doubtful of his future. He experiments, looking for affirmation and recognition from his friends and from the adults who mean most to him. Unconsciously, he revamps his repertory of childhood identifications, reviving some and repudiating others. He goes in for extremes--total commitments and total repudiations. His struggle is to make sense out of what has gone before in relation to what he now perceives the world to be, in an effort to find a persistent sameness in himself and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others.

Far from considering this process to be a kind of maturational malaise, a morbid egocentricity of which adolescents must be "cured," we must recognize in it the search for new values, the willingness to serve loyalties which prove to be "true" (in any number of spiritual, scientific, technical, political, philosphical, and personal meanings of "truth") and thus a prime force in cultural rejuvenation.

The strengths a young person finds in adults at this time--their willingness to let him experiment, their eagerness to confirm him at his best, their consistency in correcting his excesses, and the guidance they give him--will codetermine whether or not he eventually makes order out of necessary inner confusion and applies himself to the correction of disordered conditions. He needs freedom to choose, but not so much freedom that he cannot, in fact, make a choice.

In some adolescents, in some cultures, in some historical epochs this crisis is minimal; in others it holds real perils for both the individual and society. Some individuals, particularly those with a weak preparation in their preceding developmental crises, succumb to it with the formation of neuroses and psychoses. Others try to resolve it through adherence--often temporary--to radical kinds of religious, political, artistic, or criminal ideologies.

A few fight the battle alone and, after a prolonged period of agony characterized by erratic mood swings and unpredictable and apparently dangerous behavior, become the spokesmen of new directions. Their sense of impending danger forces them to mobilize their capacities to new ways of thinking and doing which have meaning, at the same time, for themselves and their times. In my book "Young Man Luther" I have tried to show how identity is related to ideology and how the identity struggle of one intense young genius produced a new person, a new faith, a new kind of man, and a new era.

I think I chose to write about Luther and his time because there are many analogies between our time and his, although today the problems which beset all historical crises are global and, as it were, semifinal in character. Today, throughout the world, the increasing pace of technological change has encroached upon traditional group solidarities and on their ability to transmit a sense of cosmic wholeness and technological planfulness to the young.

To me one of the most disturbing aspects of our technological culture is the imbalance between passive stimulation and active outlet in the pleasures that are sanctioned for young people. With the passing of the western frontier and the accelerated appearance of automatic gadgets, young people have become increasingly occupied with passive pursuits which require little participation of mind or body--being conveyed rapidly through space by machines and watching violent fantasies at the movies or on television --without the possibility of matching the passive experience with active pursuits. When an adolescent substitutes passivity for the adventure and activity which his muscular development and sexual drives require, there is always the danger of explosion--and I think that this accounts for much of the explosive, unexpected, and delinquent acts on the part of even our "nice" young people.

This is probably why "Westerns," always on the borderline of the criminal and the lawful, capture the passive imagination of a youth which has traditionally substituted identification with the rugged individualist--the pioneer who ventures into the unknown --for commitment to a political ideology; and which now finds itself confronted with increasing demands for standardization, uniformity, and conformity to the rituals of a status-convention. While the national prototype has historically been based on readiness for change, the range of possibilities of what one might choose to be and of opportunities to make a change have narrowed. To this has been added most recently the rude shaking of the once "eternal" image of our Nation's superiority in productivity and technical ingenuity through the appearance of Sputnik and its successors.

Thus one might say the complexity of the adolescent state and the confusion of the times meet head on.

However, I believe that the "confusion" derives from a hypocritical denial of our true position, both in regard to obvious dangers and true resources. When youth is permitted to see its place in a crisis, it will, out of its very inner dangers, gain the strength to meet the demands of the time.

Clinical experience with young people has, it is true, verified that combination of inner and outer dangers which explains aggravated identity

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crises. On the other hand, it has convvinced me and my colleagues, even in hospital work, of the surprising resources which young people can muster if their social responsibilities are called upon in a total environment of psychological understanding.

Question: Does this kind of confusion have anything to do with juvenile delinquency?

I would not want to add here to the many claims concerning distinct and isolated causes of juvenile delinquency. But I would like to stress one contributing factor: the confused attitudes of adults --both laymen and professionals--toward the young people whom we, with a mixture of condescension and fear, call teenagers.

Except perhaps in some rare instances of congenital defects resulting in a low capacity to comprehend values, juvenile delinquents are made, not born; and we adults make them. Here, I am not referring to their parents exclusively. True, many parents, because of their own personalities and backgrounds, are not able to give their children a change for favorable resolution of the identity crisis. Nor am I referring to the failure of society at large to correct those blights on the social scene--such as overcrowded slums and inequality of opportunities for minority groups--which make it impossible for tens of thousands of young people to envisage an identity in line with the prevailing success-and-status ideology.

Rather, I am referring to the attitudes of adults--in the press, in court, and in some professional and social institutions--which push the delinquent young person into a "negative identity," a prideful and stubborn acceptance of himself as a juvenile delinquent--and this at a time when his experimentation with available roles will make him exquisitely vulnerable (although he may not admit or even know it) to the opinions of the representatives of society. When a young person is adjudicated as a potential criminal because he has taken a girl for a ride in somebody else's car (which he intended to abandon, not to appropriate), he may well decide, half consciously, of course, but none the less with finality, that to have any real identity at all he must be what he obviously *can* be--a delinquent. The scolding of young people in public for the indiscretions they have committed, with the expectation that they show remorse, often ignores all the factors in their histories that force them into a delinquent kind of experimentation. It is certainly no help toward a positive identity formation.

In his insistence on holding on to an active identity, even if it is temporarily a "negative" one from the point of view of society, the delinquent is sometimes potentially healthier than the young person who withdraws into a neurotic or a psychotic state. Some delinquents, perhaps, in their determination to be themselves at all costs and under terrible conditions have more strength and a greater potential for contributing to the richness of the national life than do many excessively conforming or neurotically defeatist members of their generation, who have given up youth's prerogatives to dream and to dare. We must study this problem until we can overcome the kind of outraged bewilderment which makes the adult world seem untrustworthy to youth and hence may seem to justify the choice of a delinquent identity.

Actually, transitory delinquency, as well as other forms of antisocial or asocial behavior, often may be what I have called a *psychosocial moratorium* --a period of delay in the assumption of adult commitment. Some youths need a period of relaxed expectations, of guidance to the various possibilities for positive identification through opportunities to participate in adult work, or even of introspection and experimentation--none of which can be replaced by either moralistic punishment or condescending forgiveness.

Question: The theme of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth charges the Conference with studying and understanding "the values and ideals of our society" in its efforts "to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity." ...Could you add a word about how these values, once identified, can be transmitted in a way that will insure their incorporation into the value systems of the young?

Like every other aspect of maturity the virtues which we expect in a civilized human being grow in stages as the child develops from an infant to an adult. What is expected of a child at any time must be related to his total maturation and level of ego-strength, which are related to his motor, cognitive, psychosexual, and psychosocial stages. You can't expect total obedience from a 2-year-old who must test a growing sense of autonomy, nor total truth from a 4-year-old involved in the creative but often guilt-ridden fantasies of the oedipal stage.

It would be in line with the course of other historical crises if in our Nation today a certain sense of moral weakness were producing a kind of frantic wish to enforce moral strength in our youth with punitive or purely exhortative measures.

Today, a sense of crisis has been aggravated by the long cold war and the sudden revelation of the technical strength of a supposedly "backward" rival. We are wondering whether we have made our children strong enough for living in such an unpredictably dangerous world. Some people, who suddenly realize that they have not been responsible guardians of all the Nation's young, now wonder whether they should have beaten moral strength into them or preached certain absolute values values more adamantly.

No period, however, can afford to go back on its advances in values and in knowledge, and I trust that the... White House Conference will find a way to integrate our knowledge of personality development with our national values, necessities, and resources. What we need is not a plan whereby relatively irresponsible adults can enforce morality in their children, but rather national insistence on a more *responsible* morality on theppart of adults, paired with an *informed* attitude toward the *development* of moral values in children. Values can only be fostered gradually by adults who have a clear conception of what to expect and what not to expect of the child as, at each stage, he comes to understand new segments of reality and of himself, and who are firm about what they are sure they *may* expect.

It must be admitted that psychiatry has added relatively little to the understanding of morality, except perhaps by delineating the great dangers of moralistic attitudes and measures which convince the child only of the adult's greater executive power, not of his actual moral power or true superiority. To this whole question, I can, on the basis of my own work, only indicate that the psychosocial stages...seem to open up the possibility of studying the way in which in each stage of growth the healthy child's developmental drives dispose him toward a certain set of qualities which are the necessary fundaments of a responsible character: in *infancy*, hope and drive; in *early childhood*, will and control; in the *play age*, purpose and direction; in the *school age*, skill and method; and in *adolescence*, devotion and fidelity. The development of these basic qualities in children, however, depends on the corresponding development in adults

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of qualities related to: in *young adulthood,* love, work, and affiliation; in *adulthood,* care, parenthood, and production; and in *old age,* "wisdom" and responsible renunciation.

Now I have given you another set of nice words, throwing to the winds my own warning regarding the way they can be misunderstood and misused. Let me point out, therefore, that I consider these basic virtues in line with our advancing psychoanalytic ego-psychology, on the one hand, and with our advancing knowledge of psychosocial evolution, on the other, and that the conception behind this list can only be studied in the context of advancing science. I will discuss this further in a forthcoming publication, but I mention it now because I thought I owed you a referance to the way in which my contribution of 1950 has gradually led me in the direction of the great problem of the anchoring of virtue in human nature as it has evolved in our universe.

We ought to regard the breaking of a child's spirit--by cruel punishment, by senseless spoiling, by persistent hypocrisy--as a sin against humanity. Yet today we have back-to-the-woodshed movements. Last year in the legislature of one of our greatest States a bill was introduced to allow corporal punishment in the public schools and was lauded by part of the press. This gave the Soviets a chance to declare publicly against corporal punishment, implying that they are not sufficiently scared by their own youth to go back on certain considered principles in the rearing of the young. Actually, I think that we stand with the rest of the civilized world on the principle that if adult man reconsiders his moral position in the light of historical fact, and in the light of his most advanced knowledge of human nature, he can afford, in relation to his children, to rely on a forbearance which step by step will bring the best *out* of them....

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THE EIGHT STAGES
IN THE LIFE CYCLE
OF MAN

by

Erik Erikson

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THE EIGHT STAGES IN THE LIFE CYCLE OF MAN

"Personality," Erikson has written, "can be said to develop according to steps predetermined in the human organism's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with a widening social radius, beginning with a dim image of a mother and ending with an image of mankind...."Following are the steps he has identified in man's psychosocial development, and the special crises they bring. In presenting them, he has emphasized that while the struggle between the negatives and positives in each crisis must be fought through successfully if the next developmental stage is to be reached, no victory is completely or forever won.

I. INFANCY: TRUST VS. MISTRUST

The first "task" of the infant is to develop "the cornerstone of a healthy personality," a basic sense of trust--in himself and in his environment. This comes from a feeling of inner goodness derived from "the mutual regulation of his receptive capacities with the maternal techniques of provision"--a quality of care that transmits a sense of trustworthiness and meaning. The danger, most acute in the second half of the first year, is that discontinuities in care may increase a natural sense of loss, as the child gradually recognizes his separateness from his mother, to a basic sense of mistrust that may last through life.

II. EARLY CHILDHOOD: AUTONOMY VS. SHAME AND DOUBT

With muscular maturation the child experiments with holding on and letting go and begins to attach enormous value to his autonomous will. The danger here is the development of a deep sense of shame and doubt if he is deprived of the opportunity to learn to develop his will as he learns his "duty," and therefore learns to expect defeat in any battle of wills with those who are bigger and stronger.

III. PLAY AGE: INITIATIVE VS. GUILT

In this stage the child's imagination is greatly expanded because of his increased ability to move around freely and to communicate. It is an age of intrusive activity, avid curiosity, and consuming fantasies which lead to feelings of guilt and anxiety. It is also the stage of the establishment of conscience. If this tendency to feel guilty is "overburdened by all-too-eager adults" the child may develop a deep-seated conviction that he is essentially bad, with a resultant stifling of initiative or a conversion of his moralism to vindictiveness.

IV. SCHOOL AGE: INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY

The long period of sexual latency before puberty is the age when the child wants to learn how to do and make things with others. In learning to accept instruction and to win recognition by producing "things" he opens the way for the capacity of work enjoyment. The danger in this period is the development of a sense of inadequacy and inferiority in a child who does not receive recognition for his efforts.

V. ADOLESCENCE: IDENTITY VS. IDENTITY DIFFUSION

The physiological revolution that comes with puberty--rapid body growth and sexual maturity--forces the young person to question "all sameness and continuities relied on earlier" and to "refight many of the earlier battles." The developmental task is to integrate childhood identifications "with the basic biological drives, native endowment, and the opportunities offered in social roles." The danger is that identity diffusion, temporarily unavoidable in this period of physical and psychological upheaval, may result in a permanent inability to "take hold" or, because of youth's tendency to total commitment, in the fixation in the young person of a negative identity, a devoted attempt to become what parents, class, or community do not want him to be.

VI. YOUNG ADULTHOOD: INTIMACY VS. ISOLATION

Only as a young person begins to feel more secure in his identity is he able to establish intimacy with himself (with his inner life) and with others, both in friendships and eventually in a love-based mutually satisfying sexual relationship with a member of the opposite sex. A person who cannot enter wholly into an intimate relationship because of the fear of losing his identity may develop a deep sense of isolation.

VII. ADULTHOOD: GENERATIVITY VS. SELF-ABSORPTION

Out of the intimacies of adulthood grows generativity--the mature person's interest in establishing and guiding the next generation. The lack of this results in self-absorption and frequently in a "pervading sense of stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment."

VIII. SENESCENCE: INTEGRITY VS. DISGUST

The person who has achieved a satisfying intimacy with other human beings and who has adapted to the triumphs and disappointments of his generative activities as parent and coworker reaches the end of life with a certain ego integrity--an acceptance of his own responsibility for what his life is and was and of its place in the flow of history. Without this "accrued ego integration" there is despair, usually marked by a display of displeasure and disgust.

CHANGING YOUTH VALUES IN THE 70'S

by

Daniel Yankelovich

Daniel Yankelovich, "Changing Youth Values in the 70's: A Study of American Youth," (New York: JDR 3rd Fund, Inc., 1974).

CHANGING YOUTH VALUES IN THE 70's: A STUDY OF AMERICAN YOUTH

This booklet summarizes and analyzes the recent changes, many of them abrupt and dramatic, in the attitudes and values of American youth, as indicated in a broad survey conducted by the organization of Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. and sponsored by the JDR 3rd Fund, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Hazen Foundation and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

In the survey, a total of 3,522 one-to-two-hour personal interviews were held in the late spring of 1973, covering a cross section of the country's youth population, aged 16 to 25. Two independent samples make up this cross section, one of college youth, the other of noncollege youth. For the first, a total of 1,006 college students from a representative selection of the country's two-year and four-hear and university establishments were interviewed. In the second category, 2,516 young people were interviewed in a probability sampling of all American households with members between the ages of 16 and 25. To avoid duplication, everyone in this age group who was living at home but attending college was eliminated from this sample.

The survey summarized here is the fifth in a series of research projects on American youth carried out by the Yankelovich organization since 1967, andin breadth and scope of findings it is by far the most ambitious such study done to date. Previous research--which includes a 1967 study for Fortune magazine, a 1969 study for CBS, a 1971 report for John D. Rockefeller 3rd and the Task Force on Youth and a 1971 survey for the JDR 3rd Fund--concentrated on college youth, with the exception of the 1969 study, which covered noncollege youth as well. The present study concerns itself with college youth, too, but it also includes high school students, blue collar workers, housewives, minority groups, high school dropouts, Vietnam veterans, and all the other heterogeneous groups that make up the full variety of America's youth.

This study also has the advantage of being able to incorporate and compare findings from the earlier studies made in the late 1960's and early 1970's; many of the same questions asked in the earlier studies were repeated in this one, and for the most part earlier sample designs were replicated, too. As a result, trends can be traced in young Americans' attitudes and values, and traced through an era crowded with events that have deeply affected the lives of young people. Though not long by historical standards, this period stretches from the peak of the Vietnam War protest movement to the disappearance of the war as an issue among young people. It is also the period in which the Women's Movement has sought to raise the consciousness of the nation, especially among young people. In this same period, we have seen sweeping changes in sexual morality and work-related values, an emerging climate of mistrust of our basic institutions, and other challenges to traditional beliefs and values. These developments--some are universal in scope while others affect only small proportions of the population--give us an opportunity to assess the impact of social change on what is probably our most change-sensitive population group--America's young people.

In addition to comparing attitudes of young adults as a whole at different times in recent years, the current study examines the differences and similarities among various groupings within the youth population at the present time. This study also looks at how these groupings--the principal divisions are college and noncollege youth --have changed in comparision to one another over the last few years.

We hope that this will be a useful contribution to the country's understanding of the views, values and perspectives of American youth in a time of ferment.

TURNABOUT

These first few years of the decade of the 1970's point to vast changes in the complexion and outlook of an entire generation of young people. Indeed, so startling are the shifts in values and beliefs between the late 1960's when our youth studies were first launched and the present time that social historians of the future should have little difficulty in identifying the end of one era and the beginning of a new one. Rarely has a transition between one decade and the next seemed so abrupt and so full of discontinuities. Here in schematic form are almost twenty large scale changes revealed by the research as having occurred between the late 1960's and the early 1970's.

UNDERLYING CAUSES

Changes of this magnitude in so brief a time span are rare, at least since attitudes have been subject to the examination of behavioral sciences. Also, the many reversals of directions and shifts in values seem so uncharacteristic of the normal orderly processes of human change that one is obliged to look beneath the surface for underlying causes. Our analysis leads us to conclude that this extraordinary pattern of change has been caused by two unrelated factors.

The first is the Vietnam War. The war hit young people with great force, especially on the nation's campuses. It evoked strong passions and extreme forms of behavior that reached their peak at the time of the 1970 research conducted shortly after the Cambodia and Kent State episodes. The findings of the current research indicate that with the passing of the war and the draft that accompanied it, youthful attitudes and values have now reverted to more familiar patterns. The war, then, is one of the keys that unlocks the mystery of the dramatic pattern of changes detected by the research over these past few years.

The other force that underlies these large scale changes is more subtle but also more important because it points toward the future rather than the past. The findings of the current study show in great detail the effects of the diffusion of a set of new values that incubated on the nation's campuses in the 1960's and have now spread out to the entire present youth generation. The New Values (as we shall refer to them) cover a broad range of beliefs. It may be useful here to spell out what we mean by the New Values. We use the term as shorthand for three categories of value change.

The first category refers to new moral norms--beliefs that guide the behavior of people on matters of individual and public morality. The major value changes under this heading are (1) changes in sexual morality in the direction of more liberal sexual mores; (2) changes in relation to the authority of institutions such as the authority of law, the police, the government, the boss in the work situation, etc.; the changes here are in the direction of what sociologists call "deauthorization," i.e., a lessening of automatic obedience to, and respect for, established authority; (3) changes in views toward the church and organized religion as a source of guidance for moral behavior; and (4) changes in traditional concepts of patriotism and in automatic allegiance to "my country right or wrong."

The second category of New Values relates to social values primarily to changing attitudes toward the work ethic, marriage and family, and the role and importance of money in defining the meaning of success.

The third category of New Values concerns the meaning of the vague concept of self-fulfillment. Self-fulfillment is usually defined by people today in ooopsition to the concern with economic security. Once a person feels that he can take some degree of economic security for granted, he begins to look forward to relief from the discipline of a constant preoccupation with econmic security, and he starts to search for forms of self-fulfillment that go beyond the daily routine. Stress on the theme of gratification is the individual's way of saying that there must be something more to life than making a living, struggling to make ends meet, and caring for others. The self-fulfillment concept also implies a greater preoccupation with self at the expense of sacrificing one's self for family, employer and community.

The New Values, then, include three sets of interrelated norms:

1. *Moral Norms* concerning sex, authority, religion and obligations to others.

2. *Social Values* concerning money, work, family and marriage.

3. *Self-fulfillment* defined in opposition to role obligations to others, and to the nose-to-the-grindstone quest for economic security.

As the New Values spread from a small minority of privileged college students to the mainstream of college youth, and from college youth to the noncollege majority of young workers, housewives, high school students, etc., they raised new questions and posed new dilemmas for each of the various subgroups in the population. (When people's expectations are raised and their values transformed, they seek out new patters of fulfillment, depending on their circumstances. The well-education and well-trained college graduate, for example, finds himself in a better position to gratify his new desires than someone who is less well trained, less well education and privileged, even though both persons may share similar desires.) If there is any single pattern that underlies the dense variety of findings described in the main body of this report it is the story of the transmission of the New Values from the campus to mainstream American youth, the efforts of both college and noncollege youth to find a satisfactory means of blending the New Values with older, more traditional beliefs, and the search for new modes of adaption to the highly institutionalized structure of American society.

In the material that follows we first describe the effects of the two forces that have transformed the outlook of American youth--the end of the Vietnam War and the transmission of the New Values from a campus minority to the overall youth population. We then examine the implications of these changes (a) for college and noncollege youth, and (b) for substantive issues relating to work and career, politics and the role of women.

THE VIETNAM WAR

Some of the changes depicted in this study such as the return of the quiet to the campus and the new seriousness of students in their pursuit of careers may appear, at first glance, to reinforce the widely held view that the 1960's represented an odd aberration in our national history. The 1970's, it is said, have restored "normalcy," linking up in a chain of continuity with the 1950's and other more "normal" periods in our national history. Such observations point to the striking parallelism between the "privatism" of the 1950's when young people were preoccupied with their own personal lives and destinies, and the privatism of the 1970's with its similarly strong focus on self.

The findings of the present study suggest that this conclusion is a half truth; that is, it is partly true and partly false. The 1960's *were* characterized by many unique events which may have momentarily sidetracked the slow, steady continuity of American social history. The short but vivid era of the Kennedy presidency, the rise of the Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of Martin Luther King, the abrupt impact of theinner city riots and burnings swiftly followed by the student riots on campus, the shock of the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King --all these events certainly left their mark on the times. The one event which these findings suggest most strongly influenced the values and views of a generation was, of course, the Vietnam War. It is possible to see now, in retrospect, that the spurt of political radicalism on campus was inextricably interrelated with student response to the war in Southeast Asia. The draft forged an intensely personal link between the students and a far off war which inspired loathing, fear, and revulsion on campus. The small core of political radicals, never more than 10-15 percent of the colleg-population, took the lead in interpreting the war in terms that were harshly critical of the United States, its motives, its institutions and its moral impulses. Because they were so disturbed by the war, the great mass of college students accepted the radical critique and, especially in the Ivy League colleges, joined with the New Left in its attack on the universitites and other institutions that were interpreted as being part of the web of immorality and misuse of power that students associated with the war. Inevitably, Vietnam-inspired political radicalism became entangled with the cluster of new life styles and social values that had their genesis in an earlier period.

Once the war passed and the draft ended, the situation changed dramatically. Describing the findings of the 1971 study, we concluded: "Radical political values and life styles, values which traveled together since the mid-1960's have, in 1971, begun to go their separate ways. Changing cultural values--relationships to marriage, authority, religion, work, money, career, sexual morality, and other aspects of the puritan ethic--have become more marked and dramatic each year since these measurements began, including 1971, while political beliefs have moved in the opposite directon away from the 1970 pearks...The vast majority of students--the 89 percent who do not identify with the New Left--have pressed forward in their search for a cultural revolution while taking a step backwards from political revolution."

Now, several years later, this same conclusion is further reinforced by the new study. The recent findings imply that it was the Vietnam War, more than any other single factor, that inspired the wave of political radicalism on campus. Although the war has left a residue of feelings which we will comment on later, it now seems reasonable to conclude that the 1960's were an aberration and a departure from the mainstream of American social history to the extent that youthful values intimately tied to the war and the strong emotions it evoked came and went with the war.

Does this mean that we are back to the *status quo ante*? Does it imply that we are now picking up the threads of cultural continuity from where they left off in the 1950's, without the 1960's leaving any enduring mark on the present period? The findings of the present study show clearly and vividly that nothing could be further from the truth. Apart from the impact of the war, the 1960's were not an aberration, but a consistent part of our cultural continuity. The war was like having a despised stranger living in your home at the same time that a baby was born to the family. With the departure of the stranger, the situation may at first seem to return to what it was earlier, but it soon becomes apparent that the new baby has created its own pattern of changes in the life of the family. The war was vivid and traumatic while it lasted, but the enduring heritage of the 1960's is the new social values that grew on the nation's campuses during the same fateful period and now have grown stronger and more powerful.

THE NEW VALUES

The central theme of the present study is the story of how various subgroups in the current generation of youth are now seeking to make an accommodation to the New Values. Perhaps the most lucid way to interpret the dense wealth of findings of this study is to regard them as a case history of "cultural diffusion." Social science has made us familiar with the process. Social change is often initiated by small extremist groups. The mass of the public reacts initially by rejecting the new ideas, and then begins to consider them with tempered selectivity. The proposals of the extremist groups become, in effect, a vast smorgasbord from which people of more moderate temperament pick and choose those ideas that fit best with their own traditional life styles. The process may be maddening to the purists, but a remarkable amount of social change is eventually effected.

In the mid-1960's we identified a subgroup of college students as "Forerunners." This group--never a majority of the college population--struggled to live by a new set of post-affluent values. We were struck by two motivations that seemed to enjoy exceptional strength among the so-called Forerunner students: one was private, directed at personal self-fulfillment. The other was public, directed toward a vision of what a just and harmonious society might be.

In their struggle to live by the New Values and to establish new institutions more responsive to their needs, students holding the New Values had an unfortunate tendency to demean the old values (due, in part, to an inherent youthful tendency toward moral absolutism). The New Values, therefore, surfaced on the American scene in the form of a *counter*culture. In the early 1960's, when these values first began to appear, the students who were experimenting with them were, for the most part, reacting against and counter to prevailing traditions. As Kenneth Keniston observed, they represented an antithesis to traditional values, not a synthesis of what is valid in both the old and the new. In the experimental years of the 1960's, the college student minority offended virtually every belief and value cherished by the American public. They downgraded economic well-being rather than regarding it as an indispensable source of the freedom and dignity of the individual. They derided education as the royal road to success and achievement, as defined by the society. They belittled the efforts of the average person to cope with the economic harshness of everyday life and his struggle to stand on his own two feet and retain some measure of autonomy within the complex conditions of modern life. They professed beliefs that seemed to flaunt faith in marriage, work, family, patriotism, the democracy of the two party system, competition, and equality of opportunity. They downgraded traditional aspirations of Americans for more material well-being--more money, more education, more leisure, and more opportunities for oneself and one's children. They challenged established authority in the larger society in every one of its forms--the law, the police, the universities, elected officials, the professions, business, etc. They countered the traditional social institutions of marriage and church by new styles of communal living and new forms of religious expression. They scrutinized each element of traditional sexual morality for opportunities to try something different. They countered the alcohol culture with the drug culture. They met the older emphasis on private careers with a new craving for community. The list could be continued indefinitely.

Much of the public hostility to the college-based movement of the 1960's was evoked by this compulsive opposition to traditional beliefs as well as by the alien political views of the college minority. Describing the emergence of the New Values in the 1970's, we noted: "Small groups of students take extreme positions on the new values, larger groups take more moderate positions. Gradually, many of the new values will work their way from the Forerunner college group to the career-minded majority of college students and then to other young people, and then to upper middle class older people in urban settings, and then to the mass of the population. At each stage in the process, a synthesis of the old and new will finally be reached although the process may take decades and perhaps generations to complete and may become sidetracked." Our prediction that the process of diffusion might take decades and even generations to accomplish has been proven incorrect by the present study. Indeed, we are amazed by the rapidity with which this process is now taking place, by its complexity, and by the problems of adaption it poses to the institutions of the society. The balance of this pamphlet describes the effects of the wider diffusion of the New Values on and off campus.

CROSS-PURPOSE ON CAMPUS

ASSIMILATING THE NEW VALUES

The situation on campus can be summed up as follows: the New Values are now widely diffused throughout the total college population and are no longer confined to a minority. In some categories (e.g., sexual morality) the spread continues unabated. In other categories (e.g., attitudes toward work) there has been a moderate reversal of earlier trends. The overall picture is one of a steady process of dispersion and assimilation of the New Values. The charts that follow provide some illustrations of this steady process.

CAREER ASPIRATIONS ON CAMPUS

At the same time that the New Values have spread, there has also been a steady increase in traditional career aspirations on campus, such as the desire to get ahead, to find economic security, and to enjoy careers which provide opportunities for both money and greater self-expression and self-fulfillment. The size of the career-minded group of college students, i.e., those young people whose major purpose in going to college is the practical one of training themselves for a career, has steadily grown over the past six years too.

This growth in the proportion of career-minded college students is charted below; at right and on the following page are shown the increasing percentages--in a half dozen major categories--of students who indicate a desire for traditional benefits when asked what they would value most in choosing a career or a job.

NEW ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

In an earlier section we showed how the New Values spread from a college minority to the career-minded majority of college youth. We described how today's college youth were attempting to find a constructive synthesis between traditional and new values. And we suggested that their efforts were likely to meet with success on the grounds that there appears to be a "good fit" between what these young people want and what the society has to offer its college educated youth. The same conclusion cannot be advanced about the impact of the New Values on noncollege youth. Without the benefits of a college education, the opportunities to find work that is both financially and psychologically rewarding are not very great--and most young people know it.

The noncollege majority recognize that they are less likely than college trained people to find interesting work. In the past, this did not matter too much. Most people looked to work for its extrinsic rewards--good pay, a mounting standard of living, economic security. But gradually, the New Values and a sense of personal entitlement are seeping into the consciousness of all young people, not just college youth. The changing values and attitudes of young working people toward the world of work as revealed by the current research can be summarized in five general statements.

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Working Youth Now Stress Quality of Life.

Traditionally in American life, especially among working people, success has meant money, economic security, status and social mobility for one's children. Today, many noncollege youth, including those working in blue collar jobs, have taken up the quest of their college peers for a new definition of success in which the emphasis is on self-fulfillment and quality of life as well as on money and security. Some indications of the trend:

- While a majority (57%) of noncollege youth state that economic security and providing for their family will come first in planning their future, a substantial minority (42%) agree with the following statement: "In thinking about the future, I'm really not that concerned with economic security. I guess I take it for granted. I'm more concerned with doing things that will give me a sense of self-fulfillment." With the New Values spreading so quickly it is a fair assumption that this 42 percent is likely to increase, perhaps even to the 56 percent "self fulfillment comes first" levels now prevailing among college youth.

- Among young blue collar workers "interesting work" is just as important a desired job attribute as money.

- Today three out of four noncollege youth as well as college youth call for more emphasis on self-expression and self-fulfillment as personal values.

Working Youth Are Less Concerned About Money.

Certainly there is no indication that young workers are willing to sacrifice economic gains for self-fulfillment. The change that appears to be occurring is the emphasis on rewards that go beyond economic security. For increasing numbers of young workers money by itself is no longer enough of an incentive for hard work.

While economic security continues to dominate their lives, many young people have begun to take it for granted. If they are working, the future prospect that they might be unable to make a living seems curiously unreal. For example, among young people who are now employed, 58 percent have no doubt about their being able to make as much money as they may want to--whatever that amount is. Perhaps the energy crisis will temper this confidence down--but the trend appears unlikely to be wiped away by anything short of a radically altered economy.

The appeal of a job that is more than just a job can be seen in just two findings of the study:

- Among blue collar workers, job security (51%) is 15 percentage points below interesting work as a job criterion.

- Out of a list of 35 possible job criteria, the chance to make a lot of money ranks among the bottom ten on the list.

The job criteria of blue collar workers are remarkably similar to those of the college students and the young college graduates already in the work force. What they want is no longer just satisfactory pay or job security, but also the opportunity to do self-rewarding and interesting work. The ranking of importance that working youth attach to job attributes is indicated in the following chart.

Attitudes Toward Work Are Positive.

Young working people, regardless of the nature of their work, say they are ready to work hard. They definitely are not looking for work that is not demanding. They do not shirk from physical hard work, and they are not worried about being asked to do more than they now do. But the nature of the "payoff" for hard work has changed. In 1969, 79 percent of the noncollege youth believed that "hard work would always pay off," a view held by only 57 percent of college youth. Now the same traditional feeling about hard work as the royal road to success is supported by only 56 percent of noncollege youth. A note should be made, however, that a strong majority of *both* college and noncollege youth continue to reject at 1969 levels the idea of less emphasis on working hard. In other words, young people are *willing* to work hard, but they've lost their confidence that hard work will pay off--in terms of psychological as well as economic rewards.

Job Satisfaction is Limited.

The difference between the personal rewards and satisfactions found at work by college educated young people and blue collar workers points to one of the major disparities in our society.

The young professional or executive sees his work as providing him with a good future, but also with the opportunity to use his skills and intelligence and to do work that is meaningful and rewarding. The young blue collar worker often brings to the job many of the same desires for rewarding work and for a job that demands the use of his brains, full resources and creativity. In many instances, however, unlike the young, executive or professional, he finds only a job that is "just a job"--a way to kill time and make a living.

The stark contrast in job attitudes between blue collar workers and young executives is graphically illustrated by the diagrams at right.

Education Is Viewed As An Answer

The intensity and universality of the desire for more education and training, undoubtedly one of the key findings of the study, reflect the main strategy expressed by noncollege youth for dealing constructively with their present and future job frustrations, and their readiness to do something positive about it if given the opportunity (illustrated on the following page).

- Forty-five percent see their educational background as the major barrier toward getting the kind of work wanted.
- Thirty-seven percent regard their lack of vocational training as an impediment to the kind of job wanted.
- Given the opportunity to get a six month training or education program which would lead to a promotion or better job elsewhere, 68 percent say they would welcome the chance even if it meant taking a 20 percent pay cut while taking the course. It would be naive to take this finding literally as a prediction of future behavior. But the finding is important in what it says about attitudes and values.

HIGHER EDUCATION--LOWER OPPORTUNITIES

To sum up this section: work that provides psychological as well as economic benefits is as attractive to the nation's young high school graduates as to its college graduates--but they don't really expect to get it from their jobs. Upward mobility is also important to them, but opportunities for mobility and for job enrichment are often traded away in exchange for economic benefits. At the same time, indications are that opportunities for skilled workers in industrial jobs may be shrinking. Low level service jobs, which are growing in number, often lead to a dead end. Information about good jobs open to the person without a college education is difficult to acquire. The opportunities for training and the acquisition of new skils are sporadic, all to often poorly conceived, and to most young people do not look as if they will produce results.

Today's generation of young people are less fearful of economic insecurity than in the past. They want interesting and challenging work but they assume that their employers cannot--or will not--provide it. By their own say-so, they are inclined to take "less crap" than older workers. They are not as automatically loyal to the organization as their fathers, and they are far more cognizant of their own needs and rights. Nor are they as awed by organizational and hierarchical authority. Being less fearful of "discipline" and the threat of losing their jobs, they feel free to express their discontent in myriad ways, from fooling around on the job to sabotage. They are better educated than their parents, even without a degree. They want more freedom and opportunity and will struggle to achieve it.

That the majority of noncollege youth face the prospect of growing difficulties with their jobs must be a matter of serious concern to the society. These young people, after all, represent the great bulk of the new labor force. The problem they face is compounded by the confrontation of higher expectations with lower opportunities: the New Values inevitably clash with the built-in rigidities of the traditional work place.

A word of caution is in order here. It is important not to overstate the implications of the research. A disgruntled, discontented work force of high school graduates uninterested in their jobs and eager to cut back on work commitments irrespective of economic rewards, is far from inevitable. Conversely, however, the conventional view of a future work force contented simply because they are making a good living and improving their material standard of life is even more unlikely. We are reaching one of these critical turning points in our social history where the options of the future and the opportunities to create new institutions are truly open. The die is not yet cast. The majority of young people continue to bring to their work a deeply rooted desire to do a good job and a hunger for work that will satisfy some of their deepest cravings--for community, for fellowship, for participation, for challenge, for self-fulfillment, for freedom, for equality.

ALTERNATIVES TO COLLEGE OR WORK

A boy or girl graduating from high school today has two alternatives--to go to work (and for some this can mean enlisting in the armed forces) or go on to college, either a two-year or a four-year college. For some, there is not even this alternative--due to money problems, intellectual limitations, family needs, etc.

The questions arises as to whether these alternatives can be made less rigid and more flexible. Is there an opportunity for new institutions that would be more responsive to the needs of young people?

In this connection we pretested five concepts that posed alternatives to the present work versus college choice.

Plan I: A start-your-own-business program featuring training and interest-free loans.

Plan II: New types of technical schools offering certified training for skills needed in expanding industries.

Plan III: A career-planning year exposing the individual to many different fields and job opportunities and featuring new forms of career counseling.

Plan IV: New types of apprenticeship programs in industry, the arts, the unions or service organizations where the individual is paid minimum wages while he learns new skills.

Plan V: A six-year-job-and-college program where the individual works steadily at the job and receives a college degree for both work and formal courses at a nearby college.

Asked how they would react to each of these alternatives if they were graduating from high school today, here is how the blue collar workers responded:

- 76 percent said they would give serious thought to a career-planning year.
- 71 percent would give serious consideration to the six-year combined work and go-to-college program.
- 68 percent expressed interest in the new types of technical schools.
- 66 percent were interested in the new types of apprenticeship programs.
- 55 percent reacted favorably to the start-your-own-business program.

Interestingly, college students share the blue collar workers' enthusiasm for the career-planning year and the six-year-work-college program, but are somewhat less interested in the start-your-own-business program or in the new types of technical schools. The chart at the right shows the response of the total young adult population to these five concepts.

Whether, indeed, today's young adults would take advantage of such programs and alternatives if they were available is open to question. Our own interpretation is that the desire for taking advantage of these new opportunities, if they existed, is strongly buttressed by the value structure and emerging cultural patterns of a "new" generation of Americans.

MINORITY YOUTH

Not surprisingly, it is minority youth who feel most left out. Only a small percentage go on to college: dropouts from high school are twice as numerous among black and other minority youth than among their white peers. Among minority youth, the prevailing view is that this is a sick society (55%) and not democratic (76%). They are disheartened by what they feel is rampant racism. They are having problems making ends meet and unlike their white peers are doubtful about their future ability to make money as well.

Minority youth are caught in an acute dilemma by the New Values. On the one hand, they endorse the freer, more open kind of relationships and life styles promoted by the New Values; on the other hand, they are personally more concerned than other young people with education, work and money.

UNHAPPY VETERANS

Approximately seven percent of the noncollege youth in the survey (15% of the males) reported having served in Vietnam, and the study finds significant contrasts between the attitudes and values of these veterans and those of noncollege youth in general. Broadly speaking, the veterans present a picture of a group of young Americans who are markedly less optimistic about themselves and their society.

Some of the greatest contrasts are evident in the area of personal evaluations and outlooks. For instance, only half of the Vietnam veterans say that "things are going well" in their personal lives compared to three-quarters of their peers. Only 46 percent of the veterans feel they are able to make ends meet financially, compared to 62 percent of all noncollege youth. And nearly twice as many veterans say they feel like "second-class citizens" (25% versus 14%).

Several less subjective indicators bear out or add to the picture of veterans' frustration or low self-evaluation. Twice as many veterans as noncollege youth in general were unemployed at the time of the survey (33% versus 17%). Alcohol and drug use was twice as high among the veterans: a full 45 percent of the veterans said they had drunk a lot over the previous weekend (only 20% of all noncollege youth said so) and 17 percent said they had gotten high on drugs (versus 8% of others). And twice as many veterans--a full third of them--place themselves at the extremes of the political spectrum, with 19% identifying themselves as conservatives (versus 12% overall) and 15 percent calling themselves radicals compared to only 4 percent overall.

As a striking comment on the frustrations of the Vietnam War felt by those closest to it, one out of four young veterans thinks we lost the war, compared to only one out of eleven of noncollege youth in general, and the veterans are even less likely than their peers to feel the war ended with honor (7% compared to 13% overall). Yet, ironically, more veterans support various justifications for going to war again: to counteract aggression (68% of veterans, 55% overall), to contain communism (54% versus 48%) to protect allies (59% versus 45%).

WOMEN AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The study findings contain a wealth of information about the attitudes of young people toward Women's Lib ideas. The findings show that these ideas have had their warmest reception on the nation's campuses. This is not surprising since there is a close connection between the ideas of the Women's Movement with its stress on self-fulfillment for women and the core concepts of the New Values.

The findings show that a majority of young people today believe that women should receive equal pay for equal work, that women should be free to take the initiative in matters of sex, that men and women share the same essential human nature (in striking contrast to Freud's dictum that anatomy is destiny), and that women's relationships to other women are just as important as their relationship to men. On the other hand, a majority reject the idea that women can do almost any job as well as a man can, and that women do not need men to be happy. Young adults are equally divided on whether women are just as logical as men and whether the old saw about the woman's place in the home is or is not, nonsense.

MEASURES OF A MAN

Another indication of how Women's Liberation ideas have affected American youth can be seen in the de-emphasis by a majority of young people of some traditional notions of masculinity. But this is by no means a total de-emphasis. On the one hand, they give little support to the idea that men should be physically strong or handy around the house; on the other, they feel a man should be a good provider and hold strong moral views. The chart indicates levels of support for various attitudes about masculine qualities.

Concerned with women's sexual satisfaction - 75%

Good provider - 73%

Strong views about right and wrong - 72%

Puts family before anything else - 63%

Satisfies a woman sexually - 59%

Shows women courtesy and respect - 59%

Keeps feelings under control - 44%

Makes decisions in the family - 36%

Willing to do household chores - 31%

Handy around the house - 28%

Physically strong - 25%

Good-looking in a masculine way - 15%

COLLEGE vs. NONCOLLEGE WOMEN

Perhaps the key point about Women's Lib ideas in relation to today's youth is that these ideas have created a wide schism between women in college and women who do not have a college education. Women college students eagerly embrace the new values associated with Women's Lib, in part because they see their way clear to combining marriage with a self-fulfilling career. But to the young women who lack a college education, work is not a self-fulfilling career but a job to help make ends meet. Like their male counterparts, blue collar working women have the least satisfying jobs and the least opportunity to get better ones. So they find it difficult to identify with their college sisters who stress self-realization through a career. Marriage, on the other hand, to the majority of young noncollege women still means devoting their lives to the role of housewife and mother. For these women, the Women's Lib stress on self-fulfillment through career and work and the doubts Women's Lib casts on a woman's ability to achieve her full potential through motherhood and wifehood pose a serious threat to self-esteem and to traditional beliefs. The following charts illustrate the enormity of the gap between college and noncollege women on a wide range of beliefs associated with the New Values and the ideas promulgated by the Women's Movement.

POLITICAL SKEPTICS

"SPECIAL INTERESTS" RUN THE NATION

The most subtle and difficult implications of the findings are those that relate to politics and political viewpoints. The surface facts are easy to summarize. The vast majority of young people today, approximately three out of four college and noncollege young adults, express considerable satisfaction with the way their personal life is going. They say they are enjoying life, they feel they have good opportunities for the future, they want more education, and two out of three say they are able to make ends meet. A large majority say they have no insuperable problem in accepting the conventional life styles offered by the society, expressing their belief that our society as it exists today is essentially healthy and its problems manageable.

At the same time, more than six out of ten young adults today believe that the society is democratic in name only. They believe that "special interests" run the political machinery of the nation, with little true participation by the mass of American citizens. Four out of five are critical of the nation's foreign policy and predict that involvements similar to Vietnam are inevitable. Fewer than one out of five (9% of college students and 15% of noncollege youth) feel that we ended the Vietnam War with honor. (The majority believe either that we could have achieved the same end result earlier, or that we brought dishonor on the nation.) More than 90 percent of all young people hold that business is too concerned with its own profits, and insufficiently concerned with serving the public. Criticism of business and political parties has grown by leaps and bounds in the past few years, especially among noncollege youth. In 1969, 44 percent of the noncollege group believed that our political parties needed fundamental change. Today 64% hold this belief. In 1969, 24 percent of noncollege youth believed that big business required fundamental reform. Today that proportion has almost doubled to 45 percent. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "special interests" that the majority of young people see as dominating the political process turn out to be big business and politicians concerned with their own welfare rather than with the interests of the public. Despite the feelings of personal well-being, we find a widespread skepticism about the political process.

Fewer than half of the noncollege population voted in the last election, their votes split equally between Mr. McGovern and Mr. Nixon. Three out of four college students said they voted in the last election, with McGovern given a four to three edge over Nixon in the campus vote. By more than two to one margins, young people align themselves with the Democratic Party over the Republican Party. Almost half of college youth (45%) say they are Democrats while 21 percent claim allegiance to the Republican Party. Among noncollege youth, 49 percent are Democrats and 24 percent are Republicans. Twice as many college youth as noncollege (23% to 12%) characterize themselves as being actively interested and involved in political matters. In the college population, more than half of all students describe themselves as being one or another shade of liberal (53%), 21 percent are completely middle of the road, 21 percent are conservative and 5 percent are radical. The pattern among the noncollege population is similar, but with more conservatives and fewer liberals.

A GREATER STATE OF FLUX

On controversial political issues, the noncollege majority are decidedly more conservative than their college cohorts. More of them favor the death penalty for certain crimes (52% to 44%), more of them favor life sentences for drug pushers (45% to 30%), fewer of them favor legalizing marijuana (47% to 60%), and fewer of them favor granting amnesty to draft evaders (42% to 52%).

But here too, on the political front, as in the area of social and moral values, the gap within the generation between college students and the noncollege majority has narrowed. College students have become somewhat more conservative over the past few years and pay more credence to the importance of law and order while the noncollege group has in certain respects become somewhat less conservative.

Other research conducted by the Yankelovich organization shows that the political center in the nation as a whole has shifted toward a greater conservatism.[1] This same generalization cannot be applied to the nation's young people. Their political views appear to be in a greater state of flux, with no clear-cut direction as yet or center of gravity.

BILL OF NEW RIGHTS

Meantime, a potentially sizable factor in the politics of American youth is the broad new agenda of social rights they are developing. In the past, social security, medical insurance, medicaid, unemployment insurance all started out as "wants" and have now become institutionalized as "rights." Similarly today, both noncollege and college youth indicate that they are in the process of converting certain desires into a set of presumed rights, including the following:

- *To be able to send children to college whether or not they can afford to do so.*
- *To participate in decisions that affect their work.*
- *To enjoy a secure retirement.*
- *To have access to the best medical care whether they can afford it or not.*

One can only speculate what this new assertion of social rights among young people will mean in the way of social change in the future. For the concept of social rights has always exerted a strong force in our society, and in recent years, a number of institutional forms have sprung up that have shortened the time span between the individual's sense of entitlement and political action. In the 1960's, a variety of social movements came into being--the Civil Rights Movement, the Consumer Movement, the Women's Movement, the Ecology Movement, etc. These movements have served to articulate, define, and shape a full agenda of new social rights. An important questions today is what young people will do with an expanded bill of rights so closely tied into the New Values. (The chart below indicates various newly asserted "rights" and tells for each the percentage of young people who feel American are entitled to this particular "right.")

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[1] Studies conducted for *Time* magazine, 1973.

UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Perhaps the most important political question for the future relates to the outcome of the efforts by the noncollege majority to satisfy their new values and expectations within the structure of existing institutions. The great bulk of the nation's young people are not politicized in the same sense in which working class youth in South American and European countries are. Their hopes are high, their outlook is sanguine and for the most part is private, personal and nonpolitical. But they have now begun to develop more critical views of the society (similar to their college counterparts) and its institutions. In addition, research shows that beneath the surface of contentment expressed by noncollege youth are to be found a number of small signs of growing resentment against groups who appear, in their eyes, to be getting something for nothing, who do not live by the rules they have so willingly accepted (e.g. welfare recipients, students and minority groups).

If America's work, education and political institutions prove to be flexible and responsive--and a sizable majority of America's youth think our society is indeed flexible enough to handle its challenges--we can look forward to a period of social stability, moderation in politics and perhaps even a resurgence of traditional American optimism about the future. If, however, these institutions prove rigid and unresponsive and our political leadership shows insensitivity to the changing needs and values of our youth, then the underlying potential for discontent will become all too real and we will face a period of instability and demagoguery.

CAREER ASPIRATIONS ON CAMPUS

At the same time that the New Values have spread, there has also been a steady increase in traditional career aspirations on campus, such as the desire to get ahead, to find economic security, and to enjoy careers which provide opportunities for both money and greater self-expression and self-fulfillment. The size of the career-minded group of college students, i.e., those young people whose major purpose in going to

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college is the practical one of training themselves for a career, has steadily grown over the past six years too.

This growth in the proportion of career-minded college students is charted below; at right and on the following page are shown the increasing percentages--in a half dozen major categories--of students who indicate a desire for traditional benefits when asked what they would value most in choosing a career or a job.

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LATE 1960's	EARLY 1970's
The campus rebellion is in full flower.	The campus rebellion is moribund.
New life styles and radical politics appear together: granny glasses, crunchy granola, commune living, pot smoking and long hair seem inseparable from radical politics, sit-ins, student strikes, protest marches, draft card burnings.	An almost total divorce takes place between radical politics and new life styles.
A central theme on campus: the search for self-fulfillment *in place of* a conventional career.	A central theme on campus: how to find self-fulfillment *within* a conventional career.
Growing criticism of America as a "sick society."	Lessening criticism of America as a "sick society."
The Women's Movement has virtually no impact on youth values and attitudes.	Wide and deep penetration of Women's Lib precepts.
Violence on campus is condoned and romanticized; there are many acts of violence.	Violence-free campuses; the use of violence, even to achieve worthwhile objectives, is rejected.
The value of education is severely questioned.	The value of education is strongly endorsed.
A widening "generation gap" appears in values, morals and outlook, dividing young people (especially college youth) from their parents.	The younger generation and older mainstream America move closer together in values, morals and outlook.
A sharp split in social and moral values is found within the youth generation, between college students and the noncollege majority. The gap *within* the generation proves to be larger and more severe than the gap *between* the generations.	The gap within the generation narrows. Noncollege youth have virtually caught up with college students in adopting the new social and moral norms.
The challenge to the traditional work ethic is confined to the campus.	The work ethic appears strengthened on campus, but is growing weaker among noncollege youth..
	The new sexual morality spreads both to mainstream college youth and also to mainstream working class youth.
	Criticism of some major institutions are tempered on campus but are taken up by working class youth.

LATE 1960's (Cont'd)

A new code of sexual morality, centering on greater acceptance of casual premarital sex, abortions, homosexuality and extramarital relations is confined to a minority of college students.

Harsh criticisms of major institutions, such as political parties, big business, the military, etc., are almost wholly confined to college students.

The universities and the military are major targets of criticism.

The campus is the main locus of youthful discontent; noncollege youth are quiescent.

Much youthful energy and idealism is devoted to concern with minorities, and blacks are considered the most oppressed group.

The political center of gravity of college youth: left/liberal.

The New Left is a force on campus: there are growing numbers of radical students.

Concepts of law and order are anathema to college students.

The student mood is angry, embittered and bewildered by public hostility.

EARLY 1970's (Cont'd)

Criticisms of universities and the military decrease sharply.

Campuses are quiescent, but many signs of latent discontent and dissatisfaction appear among working class youth.

Concern with minorities is lower, and American Indians are considered most oppressed.

No clear-cut political center of gravity; pressures in both directions, left and right.

The New Left is a negligible factor on campus: the number of radical students declines sharply.

College students show greater acceptance of law and order requirements.

There are few signs of anger or bitterness, and little overt concern with public attitudes toward students.

APPROACH TO VALUES: THE VALUING PROCESS IN THE MATURE PERSON

by

Carl Rogers

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APPROACH TO VALUES:

THE VALUING PROCESS IN THE MATURE PERSON

There is a great deal of concern today with the problem of values. Youth, in almost every country, is deeply uncertain of its value orientation; the values associated with various religions have lost much of their influence; sophisticated individuals in every culture seem unsure and troubled as to the goals they hold in esteem. The reasons are not far to seek. The world culture, in all its aspects, seems increasingly scientific and relativistic, and the rigid, absolute views on values which come to us from the past appear anachronistic. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that the modern individual is assailed from every angle by divergent and contradictory value claims. It is no longer possible, as it was in the not too distant historical past, to settle comfortably into the value system of one's forebears or one's community and live out one's life without ever examining the nature and the assumptions of that system.

In this situation it is not surprising that value orientations from the past appear to be in a state of disintegration or collapse. Men question whether there are, or can be, any universal values. It is often felt that we may have lost, in our modern world, all possibility of any general or cross-cultural basis for values. One natural result of this uncertainty and confusion is that there is an increasing concern about, interest in, and a searching for, a sound or meaningful value approach which can hold its own in today's world.

I share this general concern. As with other issues the general problem faced by the culture is painfully and specifically evident in the cultural microcosm which is called the therapeutic relationship, which is my sphere of experience.

As a consequence of this experience I should like to attempt a modest theoretical approach to this whole problem. I have observed changes in the approach to values as the individual grows from infancy to adulthood. I observe further changes when, if he is fortunate, he continues to grow toward true psychological maturity. Many of these observations grow out of my experience as therapist, where I have had the mind stretching opportunity of seeing ways in which individuals move toward a richer life. From these observations I believe I see some directional threads emerging which might offer a new concept of the valuing process, more tenable in

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the modern world. I have made a beginning by presenting some of these ideas partially in previous writings (Rogers, 1951, 1959); I would like now to voice them more clearly and more fully.

SOME DEFINITIONS

Charles Morris (1956, pp. 9-12) has made some useful distinctions in regard to values. There are "operative values," which are the behaviors of organisms in which they show preference for one object or objective rather than another. The lowly earthworm, selecting the smooth arm of a Y maze rather than the arm which is paved with sandpaper, is giving an indication of an operative value.

There are also "conceived values," the preference of an individual for a symbolized object. "Honesty is the best policy" is such a conceived value.

There is also the term "objective value," to refer to what is objectively preferable, whether or not it is sensed or conceived of as desirable. I will be concerned primarily with operative or conceptualized values.

INFANT'S WAY OF VALUING

Let me first speak about the infant. The living human being has, at the outset, a clear approach to values. We can infer from studying his behavior that he prefers those experiences which maintain, enhance, or actualize his organism, and rejects those which do not serve this end. Watch him for a bit:

Hunger is negatively valued. His expression of this often comes through loud and clear.

Food is positively valued. But when he is satisfied, food is negatively valued, and the same milk he responded to so eagerly is now spit out, or the breast which seemed so satisfying is now rejected as he turns his head away from the nipple with an amusing facial expression of disgust and revulsion.

He values security, and the holding and caressing which seem to communicate security.

He values new experience for its own sake, and we observe this in his obvious pleasure in discovering his toes, in his searching movements, in his endless curiosity.

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He shows a clear negative valuing of pain, bitter tastes, sudden loud sounds.

All of this is commonplace, but let us look at these facts in terms of what they tell us about the infant's **approach** to values. It is first of all a flexible, changing, valuing *process*, not a fixed system. He likes food and dislikes the same food. He values security and rest, and rejects it for new experience. What is going on seems best described as an organismic valuing process, in which each element, each moment of what he is experiencing is somehow weighed, and selected or rejected, depending on whether, at that moment, it tends to actualize the organism or not. This complicated weighing of experience is clearly an organismic, not a conscious or symbolic function. These are operative, not conceived values. But this process can nonetheless deal with complex value problems. I would remind you of the experiment in which young infants had spread in front of them a score or more of dishes of natural (that is, unflavored) foods. Over a period of time they clearly tended to value the foods which enhanced their own survival, growth, and development. If for a time a child gorged himself on starches, this would soon be balanced by a protein "binge." If at times he chose a diet deficient in some vitamin, he would later seek out foods rich in this very vitamin. The physiological wisdom of his body guided his behavioral movements, resulting in what we might think of as objectively sound value choices.

Another aspect of the infant's approach to values is that the source or locus of the evaluating process is clearly within himself. Unlike many of us, he knows what he likes and dislikes, and the origin of these value choices lies strictly within himself. He is the center of the valuing process, the evidence for his choices being supplied by his own senses. He is not at this point influenced by what his parents think he should prefer, or by what the church says, or by the opinion of the latest "expert" in the field, or by the persuasive talents of an advertising firm. It is from within his own experiencing that his organism is saying in nonverbal terms, "This is good for me." "That is bad for me." "I like this." "I strongly dislike that." He would laugh at our concern over values, if he could understand it.

CHANGE IN THE VALUING PROCESS

What happens to this efficient, soundly based valuing process? By what sequence of events do we exchange it for the more rigid, uncertain, inefficient approach to values which characterizes most of us as adults? Let me try to state briefly one of the major ways in which I think this happens.

The infant needs love, wants it, tends to behave in ways which will bring a repetition of this wanted experience. But this brings complications. He pulls baby sister's hair, and finds it satisfying to hear her wails and protests. He then hears that he is "a naughty, bad boy," and this may be reinforced by a slap on the hand. He is cut off from affection. As this experience is repeated, and many, many others like it, he gradually learns that what "feels good" is often "bad" in the eyes of significant others. Then the next step occurs, in which he comes to take the same attitude toward himself which these others have taken. Now, as he pulls his sister's hair, he solemnly intones, "Bad, bad boy." He is introjecting the value judgment of another, taking it in as his own. To that degree he loses touch with his own organismic valuing process. He has deserted the wisdom of his organism, giving up the locus of evaluation, and is trying to behave in terms of values set by another, in order to hold love.

Or take another example at an older level. A boy senses, though perhaps not consciously, that he is more loved and prized by his parents when he thinks of being a doctor than when he thinks of being an artist. Gradually he introjects the values attached to being a doctor. He comes to want, above all, to be a doctor. Then in college he is baffled by the fact that he repeatedly fails in chemistry, which is absolutely necessary to becoming a physician, in spite of the fact that the guidance counselor assures him he has the ability to pass the course. Only in counseling interviews does he begin to realize how completely he has lost touch with his organismic reactions, how out of touch he is with his own valuing process.

Perhaps these illustrations will indicate that in an attempt to gain or hold love, approval, esteem, the individual relinquishes the locus of evaluation which was his in infancy, and places it in others. He learns to have a basic distrust for his own experiencing as a guide to his behavior. He learns from others a large number of conceived values, and adopts them as his own, even though they may be widely discrepant from what he is experiencing.

SOME INTROJECTED PATTERNS

It is in this fashion, I believe, that most of us accumulate the introjected value patterns by which we live. In the fantastically complex culture of today, the patterns we introject as desirable or undesirable come from a variety of sources and are often highly contradictory. Let me list a few of the introjections which are commonly held.

Sexual desires and behaviors are mostly bad. The sources of this construct are many--parents, church, teachers.

Disobedience is bad. Here parents and teachers combine with the military to emphasize this concept. To obey is good. To obey without question is even better.

Making money is the highest good. The sources of this conceived value are too numerous to mention.

Learning an accumulation of scholarly facts is highly desirable. Education is the source.

Communism is utterly bad. Here the government is a major source.

To love thy neighbor is the highest good. This concept comes from the church, perhaps from the parents.

Cooperation and teamwork are preferable to acting alone. Here companions are an important source.

Cheating is clever and desirable. The peer group again is the origin.

Coca-Colas, chewing gum, electric refrigerators, and automobiles are all utterly desirable. From Jamaica to Japan, from Copenhagen to Kowloon, the "Coca-Cola culture" has come to be regarded as the acme of desirability.

This is a small and diversified sample of the myriads of conceived values which individuals often introject, and hold as their own, without ever having considered their inner organismic reactions to these patterns and objects.

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT VALUING

I believe it will be clear from the foregoing that the usual adult--I feel I am speaking for most of us--has an approach to values which has these characteristics:

The majority of his values are introjected from other individuals or groups significant to him, but are regarded by him as his own.

The source or locus of evaluation on most matters lies outside of himself.

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The criterion by which his values are set is the degree to which they will cause him to be loved, accepted, or esteemed.

These conceived preferences are either not related at all, or not clearly related, to his own process of experiencing.

Often there is a wide and unrecognized discrepancy between the evidence supplied by his own experience, and these conceived values.

Because these conceptions are not open to testing in experience, he must hold them in a rigid and unchanging fashion. The alternative would be a collapse of his values. Hence his values are "right."

Because they are untestable, there is no ready way of solving contradictions. If he has taken in from the community the conception that money is the *summum bonum* and from the church the conception that love of one's neighbor is the highest value, he has no way of discovering which has more value for *him*. Hence a common aspect of modern life is living with absolutely contradictory values. We calmly discuss the possibility of dropping a hydrogen bomb on Russia, but find tears in our eyes when we see headlines about the suffering of one small child.

Because he has relinquished the locus of evaluation to others, and has lost touch with his own valuing process, he feels profoundly insecure and easily threatened in his values. If some of these conceptions were destroyed, what would take their place? This threatening possibility makes him hold his value conceptions more rigidly or more confusedly, or both.

FUNDAMENTAL DISCREPANCY

I believe that this picture of the individual, with values mostly introjected, held as fixed concepts, rarely examined or tested, is the picture of most of us. By taking over the conceptions of others as our own, we lost contact with the potential wisdom of our own functioning, and lose confidence in ourselves. Since these value constructs are often sharply at variance with what is going on in our own experiencing, we have in a very basic way divorced ourselves from ourselves, and this accounts for much of modern strain and insecurity. This fundamental discrepancy between the individual's concept and what he is actually experiencing, between the intellectual structure of his values and the valuing process going on unrecognized within--this is a part of the fundamental estrangement of modern man from himself.

RESTORING CONTACT WITH EXPERIENCE

Some individuals are fortunate in going beyond the picture I have just given, developing further in the direction of psychological maturity. We see this happen in psychotherapy where we endeavor to provide a climate favorable to the growth of the person. We also see it happen in life, whenever life provides a therapeutic climate for the individual. Let me concentrate on this further maturing of a value approach as I have seen it in therapy.

As the client senses and realizes that he is prized as a person* he can slowly begin to value the different aspects of himself. Most importantly, he can begin, with much difficulty at first, to sense and to feel what is going on within him, what he is feeling, what he is experiencing, how he is reacting. He uses his experiencing as a direct referent to which he can turn in forming accurate conceptualizations and as a guide to his behavior. Gendlin (1961, 1962) has elaborated the way in which this occurs. As his experiencing becomes more and more open to him, as he is able to live more freely in the process of his feelings, then significant changes begin to occur in his approach to values. It begins to assume many of the characteristics it had in infancy.

INTROJECTED VALUES IN RELATION TO EXPERIENCING

Perhaps I can indicate this by reviewing a few of the brief examples of introjected values which I have given, and suggesting what happens to them as the individual comes closer to what is going on within him.

The individual in therapy looks back and realizes, "But I *enjoyed* pulling my sister's hair--and that doesn't make me a bad person."

The student failing chemistry realizes, as he gets close to his own experiencing, "I don't like chemistry; I don't value being a doctor, even though my parents do; and I am not a failure for having these feelings."

The adult recognizes that sexual desires and behavior may be richly satisfying and permanently enriching in their consequences, or shallow and temporary and less than satisfying. He goes by his own experiencing, which does not always coincide with social norms.

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*The therapeutic relationship is not devoid of values. When it is most effective it is, I believe, marked by one primary value, namely, that this person (the client) has *worth*.

He recognizes freely that this communist book or person expresses attitudes and goals which he shares as well as ideas and values which he does not share.

He realizes that at times he experiences cooperation as meaningful and valuable to him, and that at other times he wishes to be alone and act alone.

VALUING IN THE MATURE PERSON

The valuing process which seems to develop in this more mature person is in some ways very much like that in the infant, and in some ways quite different. It is fluid, flexible, based on this particular moment, and the degree to which this moment is experienced as enhancing and actualizing. Values are not held rigidly, but are continually changing. The painting which last year seemed meaningful now appears uninteresting, the way of working with individuals which was formerly experienced as good now seems inadequate, the belief which then seemed true is now experienced as only partly true, or perhaps false.

Another characteristic of the way this person values experience is that it is highly differentiated, or as the semanticists would say, extensional. The examples in the preceding section indicate that what were previously rather solid monolithic introjected values now become differentiated, tied to a particular time and experience.

Another characteristic of the mature individual's approach is that the locus of evaluation is again established firmly within the person. It is his own experience which provides the value information or feedback. This does not mean that he is not open to all the evidence he can obtain from other sources. But it means that this is taken for what it is--outside evidence--and is not as significant as his own reactions. Thus he may be told by a friend that a new book is very disappointing. He reads two unfavorable reviews of the book. Thus his tentative hypothesis is that he will not value the book. Yet if he reads the book his valuing will be based upon the reactions it stirs in *him*, not on what he has been told by others.

There is also involved in this valuing process a letting oneself down into the immediacy of what one is experiencing, endeavoring to sense and to clarify all its complex meanings. I think of a client who, toward the close of therapy, when puzzled about an issue, would put his head in his hands and say, "Now what *is* it that I'm feeling? I want to get next to it. I want to learn what it is." Then he would wait, quietly and patiently, trying to listen to himself, until he could discern the exact flavor of the feelings he was experiencing. He, like others, was trying to get close to himself.

In getting close to what is going on within himself, the process is much more complex than it is in the infant. In the mature person it has much more scope and sweep. For there is involved in the present moment of experiencing the memory traces of all the relevant learnings from the past. This moment has not only its immediate sensory impact, but it has meaning growing out of similar experiences in the past (Gendlin, 1962). It has both the new and the old in it. So when I experience a painting or a person, my experiencing contains within it the learnings I have accumulated from past meetings with paintings or persons, as well as the new impact of this particular encounter. Likewise the moment of experiencing contains, for the mature adult, hypotheses about consequences. "It is not pleasant to express forthrightly my negative feelings to this person, but past experience indicates that in a continuing relationship it will be helpful in the long run." Past and future are both in this moment and enter into the valuing.

I find that in the person I am speaking of (and here again we see a similarity to the infant), the criterion of the valuing process is the degree to which the object of the experience actualizes the individual himself. Does it make him a richer, more complete, more fully developed person? This may sound as though it were a selfish or unsocial criterion, but it does not prove to be so, since deep and helpful relationships with others are experienced as actualizing.

Like the infant, too, the psychologically mature adult trusts and uses the wisdom of his organism, with the difference that he is able to do so knowingly. He realizes that if he can trust all of himself, his feelings and his intuitions may be wiser than his mind, that as a total person he can be more sensitive and accurate than his thoughts alone. Hence he is not afraid to say, "I feel that this experience [or this thing, or this direction] is good. Later I will probably know why I feel it is good." He trusts the totality of himself, having moved toward becoming what Lancelot Whyte (1950) regards as "the unitary man."

It should be evident from what I have been saying that this valuing process in the mature individual is not an easy or simple thing. The process is complex, the choices often very perplexing and difficult, and there is no guarantee that the choice which is made will in fact prove to be self-actualizing. But because whatever evidence exists is available to the individual, and because he is open to his experiencing, errors are correctable. If this chosen course of action is not self-enhancing this will be sensed and he can make an adjustment or revision. He thrives on a maximum feedback interchange, and thus, like the gyroscopic compass on a ship, can continually correct his course toward his true goal of self-fulfillment.

SOME PROPOSTIONS REGARDING THE VALUING PROCESS

Let me sharpen the meaning of what I have been saying by stating two propositions which contain the essential elements of this viewpoint. While it may not be possible to devise empirical tests of each proposition in its entirety, yet each is to some degree capable of being tested through the methods of psychological science. I would also state that though the following propositions are stated firmly in order to give them clarity, I am actually advancing them as decidedly tentative hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: There is an organismic base for an organized valuing process within the human individual.

It is hypothesized that this base is something the human being shares with the rest of the animate world. It is part of the functioning life process of any healthy organism. It is the capacity for receiving feedback information which enables the organism continually to adjust its behavior and reactions so as to achieve the maximum possible self-enhancement.

Hypothesis II: This valuing process in the human being is effective in achieving self-enhancement to the degree that the individual is open to the experiencing which is going on within himself.

I have tried to give two examples of individuals who are close to their own experiencing: the tiny infant who has not yet learned to deny in his awareness the processes going on within; and the psychologically mature person who has relearned the advantages of this open state.

There is a corollary to this second proposition which might be put in the following terms. One way of assisting the individual to move toward openness to experience is through a relationship in which he is prized as a separate person, in which the experiencing going on within him is empathically understood and valued, and in which he is given the freedom to experience his own feelings and those of others without being threatened in doing so.

This corollary obviously grows out of therapeutic experience. It is a brief statement of the essential qualities in the therapeutic relationship. There are already some empirical studies, of which the one by Barrett-Lennard (1962) is a good example, which give support to such a statement.

PROPOSITIONS REGARDING THE OUTCOMES OF THE VALUING PROCESS

I come now to the nub of any theory of values or valuing. What are its consequences? I should like to move into this new ground by stating bluntly two propositions as to the qualities of behavior which emerge from this valuing process. I shall then give some of the evidence from my experience as a therapist in support of these propositions.

Hypothesis III In persons who are moving toward greater openness to their experiencing, there is an organismic commonality of value directions.

Hypothesis IV These common value directions are of such kinds as to enhance the development of the individual himself, of others in his community, and to make for the survival and evolution of his species.

It has been a striking fact of my experience that in therapy, where individuals are valued, where there is greater freedom to feel and to be, certain value directions seem to emerge. These are not chaotic directions but instead exhibit a surprising commonality. This commonality is not dependent on the personality of the therapist, for I have seen these trends emerge in the clients of therapists sharply different in personality. This commonality does not seem to be due to the influences of any one culture, for I have found evidence of these directions in cultures as divergent as those of the United States, Holland, France, and Japan. I like to think that this commonality of value directions is due to the fact that we all belong to the same species--that just as a human infant tends, individually, to select a diet similar to that selected by other human infants, so a client in therapy tends, individually, to choose value directions similar to those chosen by other clients. As a species there may be certain elements of experience which tend to make for inner development and which would be chosen by all individuals if they were genuinely free to choose.

Let me indicate a few of these value directions as I see them in my clients as they move in the direction of personal growth and maturity.

They tend to move away from facades. Pretense, defensiveness, putting up a front, tend to be negatively valued.

They tend to move away from "oughts." The compelling feeling of "I ought to do or be thus and so" is negatively valued. The client moves away from being what he "ought to be," no matter who has set that imperative.

They tend to move away from meeting the expectations of others. Pleasing others, as a goal in itself, is negatively valued.

Being real is positively valued. The client tends to move toward being himself, being his real feelings, being what he is. This seems to be a very deep preference.

Self-direction is positively valued. The client discovers an increasing pride and confidence in making his own choices, guiding his own life.

One's self, one's own feelings come to be positively valued. From a point where he looks upon himself with contempt and despair, the client comes to value himself and his reactions as being of worth.

Being a process is positively valued. From desiring some fixed goal, clients come to prefer the excitement of being a process of potentialities being born.

Sensitivity to others and acceptance of others is positively valued. The client comes to appreciate others for what they are, just as he has come to appreciate himself for what he is.

Deep relationships are positively valued. To achieve a close, intimate, real, fully communicative relationship with another person seems to meet a deep need in every individual, and is very highly valued.

Perhaps more than all else, the client comes to value an openness to all of his inner and outer experience. To be open to and sensitive to his own *inner* reactions and feelings, the reactions and feelings of others, and the realities of the objective world--this is a direction which he clearly prefers. This openness becomes the client's most valued resource.

These then are some of the preferred directions which I have observed in individuals moving toward personal maturity. Though I am sure that the list I have given is inadequate and perhaps to some degree inaccurate, it holds for me exciting possibilities. Let me try to explain why.

I find it significant that when individuals are prized as persons, the values they select do not run the full gamut of possibilities. I do not find, in such a climate of freedom, that one person comes to value fraud and murder and thievery, while another values a life of self-sacrifice, and another values only money. Instead there seems to be a deep and underlying thread of commonality. I believe that when the human being is inwardly free to choose whatever he deeply values, he tends to value those objects, experiences, and goals which make for his own survival, growth, and development, and for the survival and development of others. I hypothesize that it is *characteristic* of the human organism to prefer such actualizing and socialized goals when he is exposed to a growth promoting climate.

A corollary of what I have been saying is that in *any* culture, given a climate of respect and freedom in which he is valued as a person, the mature individual would tend to choose and prefer these same value directions. This is a significant hypothesis which could be tested. It means that though the individual of whom I am speaking would not have a consistent or even a stable system of conceived values, the valuing process within him would lead to emerging value directions which would be constant across cultures and across time.

Another implication I see is that individuals who exhibit the fluid valuing process I have tried to describe, whose value directions are generally those I have listed, would be highly effective in the ongoing process of human evolution. If the human species is to survive at all on this globe, the human being must become more readily adaptive to new problems and situations, must be able to select that which is valuable for development and survival out of new and complex situations, must be accurate in his appreciation of reality if he is to make such selections. The psychologically mature person as I have described him has, I believe, the qualities which would cause him to value those experiences which would make for the survival and enhancement of the human race. He would be a worthy participant and guide in the process of human evolution.

Finally, it appears that we have returned to the issue of universality of values, but by a different route. Instead of universal values "out there," or a universal value system imposed by some group--philosophers, rulers, priests, or psychologists--we have the possibility of universal human value directions *emerging* from the experiencing of the human organism. Evidence from therapy indicates that both personal and social values emerge as natural, and experienced, when the individual is close to his own organismic valuing process. The suggestion is that though modern man no longer trusts religion or science or philosophy nor any system of beliefs to *give* him values, he may find an organismic valuing base within himself which, if he can learn again to be in touch with it, will prove to be an organized, adaptive, and social approach to the perplexing value issues which face all of us.

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ADOLESCENT GIRLS, A TWO-YEAR STUDY

by

Gisela Konopka

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ADOLESCENT GIRLS:

A Two-Year Study

I have always maintained that when we set out to talk about people we *should* first let *them* talk about themselves. I cannot bring 920 girls here to speak to you in person, but I can let a few speak through their poetry. They write beautiful poetry. This poem was written by a 15-year-old girl in a delinquency institution. She talks about herself and her generation.

I am a bottle
Sealed with feeling
too deep for anyone else.
I am a bottle
floating in an eternal ocean of people
trying to help.
I am a bottle
keeping my fragile content inside it,
always afraid of breaking and exposing me.
I am a bottle
frail and afraid of the rock and afraid
of the storm,
for if the storm or rocks burst or
crack me
I sink and become part of the ocean.
I am a person, I am a person
In the people of the world.

Though I have to generalize about what we found in our study, it is important that *every person is somewhat different from any other.* I also want to say at the outset that I am talking about reality - what we actually heard, not necessarily what we wished to hear. This poem by a 16-year-old speaks to individuality.

I used to be a grape in a bunch
and all the other grapes were the
same,
But now I am an apple, crisp and
fresh
and everyone is different.
My, how life has changed.

These 12- to 18-year olds were born into national and international strife with the beginning of inflation and depression. The general environment of their parent generation was characterized by prosperity, though it does not follow that all of them participated in prosperity. Their grandparents lived through the depression of the 30's. Each generation grows up in a different kind of context. The girls we interviewed hold high hopes of better justice for all. Their generation comes after the fighting generation, and they are experiencing the harsh reaction against the preceeding rebellion. They are very self-conscious adolescents, even more so because they are female. Though we rarely heard the girls talk abstractly about their self concepts, everything they said was permeated by their concept of self.

I shall try to report what they said according to what I thought was significant to them: (1) their present drives, their dreams for the future; (2) their family, important as a supporting and limiting power; (3) their friends, important as mirrors of themselves; (4) the organizations they joined; (5) the school, again important as a supporting and limiting power; and (6) the political and social scene.

LIFE GOALS

Marriage

This generation of young women wants both marriage and a career. They have thought it through in rather a calm way. In general they do not expect to marry early. "Iwant to get married when the time comes and the time is right. I don't want to rush it because I want to make sure. It's like if there was a problem you have to pay so much money to get a divorce and I don't think it's right. If two people love each other they should be able to stay together without those laws between them." I'm not saying there will be no teenage marriages, but on the average they think after 22 is a good time to get married. One thing stands out: marriage means a great deal to them but they do want to be married to a domineering male. Again there are exceptions, but this is feared with great realism, particularly in the poverty area. "I would rather be more like friends with my husband. That comes first." "I just want to marry womeone who shares a lot of the same interests I do and we can get along with each other."

Children

Many girls want children, but they know they have a choice as to when and how many. Most of them wanted three; many wanted fewer; very few wanted more. They thought of raising children mostly in terms of very young children. This business of really raising a human being had not sunk in very deeply.

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Divorce

We found an extraordinary fear of divorce. When they talked freely this terrible fear came through. Typical statements: "What is the use of getting married if you just get divorced?" "The children will be hurt."

Careers

The choice of careers is influenced by life experiences - by what we might call adult models. Organizations and schools have given them very little conscious exposure to such models. Counselors in schools seemed to be especially ineffective. "Talking to them is like talking to a brick wall." White collar jobs are preferred. The most tradition-bound group were the adjudicated girls.

SEX

Sex is talked about very calmly by most of the girls. They accept themselves as sexual beings. This is not to say they all wanted to have premarital sex, but practically all of them were very tolerant of others who do. Even if they said, "That's not for me," they were tolerant. "I want to wait until I get married, but I don't look down on a friend."

There was enormous fear, however, of being used sexually. They believed a boyfriend should be an equal, a friend, "gentle, nice, someone who listens." *Listens* was written large. Practically none of the girls would want to just go from one love affair to another.

Sexual Abuse; Incest

We found that first sex experiences which had been disastrous and harmful usually happened to girls in their own homes. I'm not talking exclusively of incest. Sometimes it was the father, of course, but often it was a brother, another relative, or the mother's boyfriend. The tragedy is that these girls, when they run away from an intolerable situation, are treated as offenders, not as victims. We do exactly the most harmful thing in such a situation: we put them into institutions where they are separated completely from men and cannot learn any healthy relationship to the other sex. Furthermore, they are labeled. As one of the girls said, "Well, if they put me there, I am bad." This increases their sense of inferiority. They become outcasts.

Pregnancy Before Marriage

The attitude of most of the girls toward pregnancy before marriage again is one of tolerance. This is not a militant generation. Many would want to keep the child, but tend to think of the child only as a baby. Some talk about adoption. They discuss abortion openly. About half of the group were strongly for abortion, half were strongly against it.

Sex information was incredibly poor - an absolute disgrace in 1975. To be sure, there were exceptions. One girl said, "When I first found out I was pregnant I didn't even know what pregnant meant and I went to the nurse and she told me 'that means you're going to have a little baby,' and I said 'What?' And then I told my parents and then I thought I had really been bad." Many did not even know about menstruation.

To summarize, I don't think we found a sex revolution, but there is greater tolerance for premarital sex. There is still an enormous need to help people understand sex. The institutionalized girl was the worst off. She had gone through horrible experiences and most of the time was a victim. She was treated as the offender and made to feel an outcast.

RELATIONSHIP TO ADULTS

Generation Gap

I would like to discuss the relationship of the girls to adults in terms of three myths that we must destroy. One is the much publicized generation gap. Naturally there is always a generation difference, but I would not say it is a great gap. The values the girls hold are often quite similar to those of the adult world. What they expect of people is what we expect of people, too. Negative qualities of adults they mentioned were "phony, nosey, grouchy, greedy, self-conscious; they stereotype us, they don't like us." Positives named included "fun to be with, understanding, respect us, will listen, care, trust us and deserve trust, are patient, fair and just."

Relationship To Parents

The second myth is that the family is totally falling apart, that young people want to get out of the family. We found they want a family very badly, yearn for a family if they don't have it.

A girl who was thrown out by her family said in a poem: "Loneliness is missing your family, it's not knowing what to say."

Really surprising to us was that the most significant adult named by a majority of the girls was mother. They want to be related to mother and often have very good relationships with their mother. "She is just fantastic. She can yell at us, but we really respect her. She is always there to help. She understands, she works, and she knows who she is. That last sentence was rather typical. The nonsense about the working mother being the worst is not true. I think young people are quite realistic about parents.

Next in rank among significant adults was father. Yet he showed up as more authoritarian, often less communicative, and tending to lose contact when the girls reach adolescence. Fathers, it was reported, don't want daughters to grow up; they want them to remain their little girl. "Oh, he's quite tolerant about a lot of things, but, oh boy, if I go out, oh my little girl, that shouldn't happen."

Another finding, not startling but exciting, was the warm relationship with the grandparent generation. These are real people whom the girls love. This is also true of uncles and aunts. "I can talk with them. My grandmother tells me she wasn't always good, but my mother would never say that."

Permissiveness

The third myth I want to hit hard is that this is a permissive society. We found incredibly authoritarian families, the vast majority in fact. We found the battered adolescent. "When I do something wrong he beats the shit out of me. If I wouldn't clean the table right, or especially if I talked back, or if I started to cry or showed any feeling, my stepfather would beat me up." Or, "She wouldn't let me go nowhere. She beat me with braided ropes, extension cords, yardsticks, boards, whatever she could find when she was mad." A girl described being brought in by police for something she had done. The parents turned to the policeman and said, "What would you do?" He said, "Well, if she were my girl I'd give her a good beating with a police belt." "All right," the father said, "give me the belt" (it has a big buckle) and in front of everybody the girl is beaten with the belt. She gets hysterical, falls on the floor, starts laughing and laughing. The more she laughs the more they beat her. Then she walks upstairs and vomits all day.

Again, as with sex offenses, these girls are not treated as victims, always as offenders. With some exceptions, the treatment in delinquency institutions is abominable. Too much still is done to degrade the girls. One girl said, "My mother always told me, 'Whenever you see anyone crying, just try to talk to them.' But up here you can't do it because they will start yelling at you, 'You shut your mouth or you will get three days strict you know.' Being locked up, that's the worst. You can't get out, you can't say what you want, you can't do what you want. They bust teenagers for just anything. There is nothing you can do. They're just over you." The hate such conditions create is illustrated by one girl's solution: "Blow everybody up and get people to know what they are doing." Some institutions do try to provide help, especially those that are smaller. Quoting another interviewee: "Our counselor here will try to help you. If you don't want to go to her you can talk to one of the girls.

PEERS

Another important subject we explored was how adolescent girls feel about their peers. What about the loneliness that showed up so strongly in my previous study?* It is still there. Friends of their own age are very important, but adults are just as important. The girls stressed that friends must be trustworthy and you must be able to talk to them. That goes for both boys and girls, not just girls. What they do when they are with friends is pretty much the same, whether the group includes boys or not. Some have sex relations, but they want the boy also as a *friend*. The delinquent girls talked a great deal about how their boyfriends support them, give them some sense of value. This prop is taken away the moment they are placed in an institution. These girls also suffer from distrust by the community. One interviewee who had become pregnant before marriage was not allowed to go to the same school she had attended, a youth organization of which she was a member immediately excluded her, the parents of her friends did not allow their daughters to communicate with her, and she became a total isolate. This kind of thing we heard frequently.

We found few gang activities. Where they existed, girls were part of the gang, not just the auxiliary. Though there was violence in the gangs and they retaliated with violence, most girls disliked the violence.

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* Konopka, Gisela, The Adolescent Girl in Conflict
Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1966

Suicide attempts were frequent in our survey population. The reasons are the same as those found in any other population. Enormous loneliness, which we find again among the aged, is one. I was interested in a couplet quoted to us by girls across the country:

Loneliness is a silent jail
Without cellmates, parole or bail.

Other reasons for suicide attempts were severe conflicts, either with the boyfriend or with the parents. Occasionally they were related to depressive drugs, especially alcohol. I am often asked if we found much homosexuality or lesbianism. The answer is we didn't. We certainly found it in the delinquency institutions, but all of us know it flourishes there because of the total segregation from boys. Oddly enough, in terms of attitudes, homosexuality was the most disliked quality. Tolerance about sex did not seem to extend to homosexuality or lesbianism.

DRUGS AND ALCOHOL

Not surprisingly, we found an increase in alcohol use, partially because there is less conflict with society about it and partially because it is often fostered by the parents. The girls themselves stressed the negative effects of hard drugs. They see them as a danger, but as for marijuana - most of them hardly consider it a drug. They want it to be legalized. Half of the girls said they do not use drugs but they all knew of them. That applies just as much to rural areas as to urban areas. A question we asked was: "Why do you think girls take drugs? Is it different from why boys take drugs?" They said no, it was kind of the same: curiosity, peer pressure, finding drugs agreeable. But they thought boys also take drugs to prove their masculinity. Whether they evaluated the boys correctly I don't know.

We thought drug information often increased curiosity, but on the other hand it showed quite well the different effects drug use can have. We felt that strong motivation is required to stop taking drugs. "My boyfriend doesn't want me to take drugs and I want to please him." Or "I want to have healthy children, so that's why I stopped." They feel they cannot talk to adults about drugs. Most of them thought their parents did not know it when they took drugs. Among girls who belonged to youth organizations (one-third of our sample) most knew about or had taken drugs, but they said, "Oh my goodness, we would never mention it there!

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

My first impression when I locked at this part of the material was: this is really catastrophic! They are terribly self-concerned, they don't know how to participate in the political scene, they are disenchanted about things political, they don't feel responsible as citizens. After more careful reading of the material and discussion with my researchers, I recognized that first of all we must think of adolescence as a period of basic self-concern anyhow. Second, many adults do not participate in the political scene either. We were interviewing at the height of Watergate, so that had a strong influence. Finally, we have to remember that the girls actually were very concerned about issues but they did not know how to translate their concern into action. This was the first time they had been asked what their thoughts were. They talked about war, about government cheating, about race relations, and about issues relating to youth - e.g., the draft and the juvenile court. We also talked with them about the women's movement. Very often they saw only the extremes in the movement, which they didn't care for. But when we probed a little deeper we saw that they have simply accepted as their due what others fought for: equal pay for equal work, open opportunities for women, etc. So although they are not revolutionaries, they are involved, as this poem illustrates. It was written by a 16-year-old who has dropped out of school but wants very much to be a lawyer.

You talk about the problems of the world
and I am not allowed to speak because I am just a little girl.
But there is something I would like to say to you, you know
It's my world too.
You think that you can understand more than anyone at all
But mister, you are really short when you think you are tall.
And I'm not allowed to give my opinions because I'm not as big as you.
Try not to forget
It's my world too.
They talk about young people all the time
But while I am living here
It's my world too.
What I want is the best for everyone
Cuz thinking of yourself is not good in a long run.
So think about what you want for me and you
And while you are thinking, remember
It's my world too.

SCHOOL

School was often seen as very positive, mostly because the girls find friends there. Race discrimination hurts deeply, especially when teachers insult minority girls or show fear of them. Their anger at being treated differently flares out. "What do they think I am, an animal?" Many girls experience enjoyment in school. When we asked what they expect of school they spoke of friendship and understanding, but also of learning. Often the subjects they preferred were those we consider difficult. Exceptions were the delinquent girls who usually have been treated abominably and feel that school has nothing for them.

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

We found it rather sad that youth organizations seem to have little meaning to the girls. In general they found them childish. Perhaps the most serious finding was an indirect one: when we asked them about significant adults, two girls out of 920 named two people from youth serving organizations. The girls do not think they can talk with youth workers if they have problems. "Organizations are only for the good ones."

I read an article recently stating that nobody knows what kind of people we want to develop. If we don't know that, then I think we should really give up. Every society has to decide what kind of people it wants. To my thinking it is really quite simple. I go to the ideals of the Bill of Rights, which I did not invent: (1) an open free society based on the proposition that the purpose of government is to advance and protect human rights; (2) a representative form of democratic government which means that citizens must be encouraged to participate in their own fate and have the necessary knowledge to do so, otherwise it will not survive; (3) a society ruled by law; (4) an egalitarian non-discriminatory society with opportunity for everybody; (5) a pluralistic society with opportunity for groups to have a variety of life styles without harming others or feeling that one or the other style is inferior. If we combine these ideals we get a sense of direction, a sense of how to deal with our youth in the family, in schools, in youth organizations and in corrections. The time has passed for rigid, laid-out programs for young people. Most significant are the *people* who work with them. They not only must understand these youngsters but must consciously see how they themselves relate to people. They must be able to listen to and respect young people and permit their genuine participation. I felt very strongly that these young girls were asking us not only to listen to them but to convey something of the meaning of life to them. They want to talk, they want to think things through, they want absolute honesty.

The young people we talked to were very sober. We must help them feel that there is hope, that there is compassion, that joy and commitment actually are possible. So I will end with a thought from Morris West who understands the stark reality of life but also understands its beauty.

To reject the joy of living is to insult
Him who provides it,
And who gave us the gift of laughter
along with the gift of tears.

Our young population has that gift. We squelch it far too often; we do not enhance it enough.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS RELATED TO PRACTICE

DOGMA AND DIRECTION

Q: How do we move between the two extremes of trying to impose ideals upon young people (making them what we think they should be) and not giving them any direction at all?

G.K. This seems to me to be one of the philosophic questions that I hope everybody can go back and discuss with the girls themselves. To think through the difference between dogma and direction is an exciting experience at almost any age. I don't expect we will ever find the complete answer. But if our ideal is a population capable of making choices on two grounds (1) consideration of other people and (2) facts, then we have to learn to look at facts, to assess them, and to develop a measuring stick for making choices. I think we can help people learn how to make choices without imposing our own styles on them. We must allow them a large number of alternatives.

BUILDING TRUST

Q. In what ways can a worker cooperatively build trust between group and leader?

G.K. First of all, you surely don't build trust with gimmicks. Kids very quickly spot phoniness. I don't learn trust in a weekend therapy session, by falling back blindfolded and being caught before I drop. Since the whole "bag" at that moment is to create trust, I assume they won't let me drop. Does that mean I can trust the next guy I meet in the community who wants to cut my throat if I disagree with him? No.

Another way some of us try to build trust is by sitting across the desk from a person saying, "You know I understand who you are and what you think, and you must trust me." It doesn't work. Trust is built slowly, through experience. When you are working with people, be honest. By that I don't mean be brutal. But be open; don't pretend the world is all good when you know it is not. When they need you, be available. It takes time to build trust.

If you are asking me how to build trust with very distrustful young people I would need an hour to discuss it. You have to undo so much. But it is not as difficult as most adults seem to think. What came out over and over in our study was this incredible yearning to have somebody to talk to.

MEETING NEEDS - TOWARD GREATER EFFECTIVENESS

Q. Should every girls' organization try to meet all the needs of all girls, or are there some basic needs or concerns that all organizations should broaden their base to meet?

G.K. In my opinion no organization and no individual can ever serve all the needs of all the people. That's impossible. So it's all right sometimes to say we will just cut out a certain slice from the whole pie and, let's say, provide services for a particular neighborhood, or serve girls in a particular area of interest. What I think is dangerous, though, is separation on the basis of delinquency or race or ethnic background.

Now, are there basic needs all organizations should meet? I think so. We may not always agree on all needs and concerns but we have to know them and develop our thinking and our programs around them, based on some philosophy. I talked about this in the *Bill of Rights* context. For instance, if we believe people must be able to make choices, otherwise our democracy will die, then it behooves all organizations to provide experience in making choices rather than having authoritarian leaders who set the program and expect everyone to work by the book.

If we agree that self-esteem is the basis for respecting other people, then we have to provide the ingredients which enhance self-esteem: real participation in decision-making, for instance, not just asking for opinions; genuine acceptance of young people as equals, not just as pre-adults. We can translate almost every one of these basic "shoulds" or ideals, combine them with what we understand, and make them part of our programs.

So, I would say all youth organizations have to fulfill some of the basic needs of human beings and serve a wide variety of young people, yet they cannot reach all of them.

Q. You mentioned earlier that the girls had quit some of the organizations when they were in junior high school. Can you elaborate on that - what they liked about some organizations and disliked about others?

G.K. Okay, what do they like? Written very big is opportunity for adventure - the real possibility to get out and do things that are different, not the tame camping or the usual kind of summer program. I don't mean necessarily running the rapids but just going somewhere else, meeting totally different people, discussing new and exciting things. Wish for excitement is very big in that age range.

I don't usually name names, but 4-H got a good press so I'll use it as a concrete example. One thing the girls liked there was the coed organization which allowed them to be with boys at some times. We found kind of a general feeling: "No, we don't want always to be with boys but we like to have the opportunity to work with them and not just to party with them." Second, they liked individualized projects - not programs where everybody has to do the same thing. They liked the feeling of doing something distinct and getting recognition for it. Third, they liked being allowed to travel. "It wasn't just going on a vacation. We did something, we exhibited something, we worked on something together, and we were somewhere else." Being involved in actual helping also is important to them, as is the kind of adult they meet. Their most negative reaction is to the adult who treats them like little kids and looks down on them.

I think all organizations could be more effective. One of my great hopes is that we will get away from the notion of compartmentalization - school is for learning, youth organizations are for fun, parents are for nurture. We have to work together and eliminate the jealousies among us. For that we need the right kind of people. Partially they have to be found, but partially they can also be developed through training. At the Center we are starting a two-year project, funded by the Lilly Endowment, Incorporated, in which we hope to train 400 significant personnel within eight youth-serving organizations plus some staff from corrections.

REACHING TROUBLED ADOLESCENTS

Q. Do you have any ideas on how organizations and resources can better reach troubled adolescents?

G.K. First of all, do not segregate them. Why do we call one "troubled" and another "untroubled?" I have not yet seen an adolescent who is not troubled at times. In fact, I have not seen a person who is not troubled at times, regardless of age, but in adolescence everything is worse. It's a more touchy age. Almost every experience is brand new. The ability to see failure in perspective has not yet been developed. For instance, you have fallen in love and the boy leaves you. You haven't experienced this before and you are ready to commit suicide. In contrast, I feel scared before I give a speech but I have experienced over and over that somehow it will work out. So I am anxious, but not desperate.

My answer then is: first, don't segregate; second, take the troubles seriously, but don't look on the "troubled" as a group apart; third, understand the enormous range of normalcy. In general, much of what we consider emotionally disturbed is normal.

Q. What are the alternatives to traditional ways of dealing with runaways?

G.K. Certainly they vary. Sometimes we treat runaways as offenders rather than as victims, and then things get worse and worse and worse. I think definitely this has to stop. There have been some very good places for runaways here in the Twin Cities - open places where a girl could go and stay. But some changes are taking place that worry me. The current approach seems to be "now that we have been good enough to take you in, we expect you to bare your soul. Tell us all about yourself." That's not what I call an alternative. Neighborhood houses used to offer people refuge, but few such residences exist any more. Desperately needed, I think, is a network of residences all over the country (not only in the cities) where young people can stay for a time and where they will find helping people to talk to if they wish, but only if they wish. These residences might be called youth hostels - not runaway houses or half-way houses. We who work with youth often have gold in our hands, not yet tarnished by the taste of being something bad. Why label prematurely a person in the making? Just because our young people take to the road we don't have to label them runaways.

CHANGING STRUCTURES THAT OPPRESS YOUTH

Q: What can be done politically to change the structures that oppress youth and especially female youth?

G.K. I do not think that youth is totally "oppressed." Perhaps the most important structure in need of change is the family structure where double standards still prevail. Girls in our study often complained that they were not allowed to go out in the evening but their brother was, or the boy was allowed to hike in summer with a group but the girl wasn't. And this distinction was not made on the basis of age; it was strictly boy/girl. Sexuality is not the only basis for uneven treatment, but it certainly is the strongest one.

I see changing the family structure not so much in terms of making a new structure but rather in terms of moving away from the male dominated authoritarian structure. I also see the family structure as a mirror of the political structure. That means in the old monarchies in authoritarian countries the family followed the same pattern. Most people in this country come from this kind of background where the king was at the helm and below him were the people subservient to him. Now it is odd that change in political structure does not necessarily result in change in other structures. It didn't follow in the family; frequently it didn't follow in the schools. But these are structures that need to be changed.

Another structure that definitely must be changed is the one surrounding status offenses. Boys and girls are brought before the courts because they are not going to school. Americans feel very embarrassed because our delinquency figures are so high. Naturally they are when we count every kid that plays truant as a delinquent. I don't know of any other country which does that. If the status offender (the offender who has committed an act that would not be a crime for an adult) were to be taken off the courts, most girls wouldn't even be offenders. Most of the time they are in that category because of "sexual misconduct" which is not considered misconduct among the boys, even today. This will be changed and the change will come through the legal profession. Who will then take care of these girls? Who will work with them? I say it is the responsibility of people in the neighborhoods and of the youth organizations in the community.

Other structures - vocational education, for instance - need to be changed, too. But enough for now.

REACHING YOUNG PEOPLE

Q. How can we change our approach to young people so that we can reach them?

G.K. They are not so hard to reach. They want to be reached. They want to be listened to; they don't want to be talked down to; and they don't want to be constantly told that they must be exactly what someone else is. I'll finish up with two illuminating poems. The first is one by a 16-year-old girl, written after she was found in the "gutter," labeled "mentally ill," and placed in a mental hospital.

You aren't normal you know, the fat nurse said accusing me.
No, I don't know, I said heavily under my breath.
She heard me though, as her neck stretched out straining to
hear more.
What's your goal in life?
To castrate all the guys in town and marry the women.
Not really, just playing a little game.
She changed the subject because of her uncomfortable position
And fixed her gaze steadily upon my poetry book.
What's your favorite poem?
I hear America sighing.
Isn't it, I hear America singing?
Not the way things are going nowadays, said I, in a flat tone.
The psychos got up for lunch, and she stood there directing
the line.
I think she felt safer with them.

How little we know about what goes on beneath the hostility we encounter. How fast she catches our fear ... From another 16-year-old:

I used to be the cocoon all wrapped up
in what I thought then was safety
insulating myself from all the hurts and joys of life.
Afraid of so much of love, strangers, of being rejected
Of trying new things, of being wrong, of being laughed at.
Or of just being.
Snuggled in my security blanket, I miss so much.
Now I am the worm, just breaking through the cocoon
Crawling slowly, inching my way towards the light.
Cr[illegible]ng a little, a little, each day, I hope.
Trying not to slip back a foot for every inch I gain.
Some day I will be that butterfly, free and glorious,
not afraid of everything I do.

The message I get: Don't make young people feel they have to be afraid; let them be creative; try not to crush the butterfly; let them think, live, be concerned and develop.

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RELATED READINGS

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BLACK YOUTH AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

by

Ronald L. Taylor

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BLACK YOUTH AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

While there exists a massive literature on the characteristics and problems of black Americans, few studies exist which take as the main focus of attention the black adolescent or youth and the problem of psychosocial development. Moreover, while there has been considerable genuine interest and concern for the psychosocial developmental problems of black youth, there has been little actual systematic or theoretically guided research in this area (Pettigrew, 1964; Proshansky and Newton, 1968). Indeed, a perusal of that small corpus of research which does exist suggests that many of the more fundamental and significant questions have not even been broached, much less subjected to empirical investigation. For example, the way in which black youth "construct" or cultivate their identities through the use of others as models has been virtually ignored, despite evidence from psychological, clinical, and sociological studies on the significance of role models as sources of psychosocial development (Bandura and Walters, 1963).

The dearth of research on psychosocial development among black youth, in contrast to the wealth of data on early self-identity development among black children, is all the more surprising when seen against the background of recent social change (both within and without the black community), the substantial growth and visibility of a black professional leadership class sufficiently available as models of achievement, and the dramatic growth in the number of black youth currently enrolled in traditionally white and black colleges and universities. In view of these recent developments, together with new and expanded opportunities in employment and the apparent new level of self-awareness among black youth, it is reasonable to assume that these events have created new and unfamiliar developmental problems for not a few black youth.

The development of a relevant theoretical or conceptual framework is essential for a more thorough understanding and analysis of psychosocial identity development among black youth. The purpose here is to emphasize, through theoretical formulation and case study analysis, the utility of the role model approach as a conceptual framework for investigating the development of psychosocial identity among black youth. More specifically, this paper focuses upon the ways in which role models are selected and rendered useful by these youth in their various attempts to cultivate features of their personal and social identities. Such a focus allows observation of how the youth shapes his own identity through his own actions, rather than being acted upon by his social environment. While such an approach is subject to certain limitations, it is clearly a useful strategy to explore the theoretical possibilities opened up by considering the function of role models in black psychosocial development.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

Psychosocial development, of which identity formation is of prototypical significance, has been the subject of considerable discussion and investigation by behavioral scientists in recent years. Nowhere has this subject received fuller treatment than in the numerous works of Erikson (1950, 1964, 1968). While his perspective is dictated by psychoanalytic theory, he has systematically reorganized that theory to take greater account of the sociocultural environment. For Erikson, the quintessential task of youth is the establishment of a sense of one's own identity as a unique person. Identity represents an evolving configuration gradually established through successive synthesis and resynthesis of psychosocial components, involving the articulation of personal capacities, values, identifications, and fantasies with plans, ideals, expectations, and opportunities. Thus in Erikson's view, relative identity formation is not fully possible before late adolescence, when the body, "now fully grown, grows together into an individual appearance," when the fully developed cognitive structure enables the youth to envisage a career within an historical perspective, and when the emergence of the capacity for and interest in sustained heterosexual intimacy has been reached.

Most behavioral scientists are agreed that the youth stage of the life cycle is increasingly more problematic owing to social, psychological, and physical changes (Conger, 1973; Hauser, 1971). Youth find themselves in the position of having lost their former childhood status and yet not having acquired the full status of the adult. They are, as Hoffer (1965) suggests, in a traditional period between statuses and affiliations characterized by rootlessness and a high rate of change. The experience of status discontinuity confronts the youth with few clearly defined expectations or norms to guide his behavior.[1] At the social level, youth are expected to become more seriously committed to the acquisition of values, skills, and patterns of behavior appropriate to the adult world of experience, to enlarge the range of potential reference groups and significant others, and to become much more sophisticated in relating to others. These relationships in turn bring new expectations, demands, and opportunities to which the youth is expected to respond. As a psychological phenomenon, the youth perhaps for the first time attempts consciously and deliberately to conceptualize himself, to reconcile the external and internal world of experience, i.e., to come to terms with himself and his society (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Erikson, 1968). The growth in cognitive capacity and the development of intellectual skills permit new ways of learning and incorporating behavior while simultaneously serving as liberating and motivating forces impelling the youth toward more active participation in his own socialization. These unprecedented changes create perturbations if not severe stress. The normative identity crisis so often referred to in connection with this period is a result of these multiple transformations and social pressures.

There is little to indicate that black youth escape the tensions and turbulence of this period, as numerous autobiographical accounts and essays would seem to suggest (Malcolm X, 1965; Ellison, 1963; Brown, 1965; Cleaver, 1968). Moreover, problems precipitated by minority status, cultural conflict, and caste victimization may result in complications of a somewhat different order and may be seen to take different forms and find quite different solutions among these youth (Rainwater, 1966; Clark, 1965; Brody, 1964).

The issues of crucial significance for youth are questions of choice and commitment (Marcia, 1966; Erikson, 1968). The need to develop a sense of identity from among all past, current, and potential relations compels the youth to make a series of increasingly more circumscribed selections of personal, occupational, and ideological commitments. His choice and commitment to the performance of certain social roles aids in the establishment of his social identity, while his commitment to certain personally relevant values and beliefs permits membership in a larger community through which extensions of his identity are fostered and solidified. The variety of social roles and values as available options open to the youth are not, however, unlimited. With each choice the breadth and variety of alternatives narrow. Such variables as race, religion, level of education, and community have the effect of reducing the range of possibilities. Furthermore, there is some reason to believe that the specific ways in which the youth attempts to resolve these issues is determined in part by his position or the position of his parents in the hierarchy of social classes (Schonfeld, 1971; Musgrove, 1964). That is, the status differentials among youth are highly related to the ways in which they orient themselves to the society at large and have a decided

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influence on the content, duration, and stressfulness of the period. Hence, youth of various classes may be expected to differ in their modes of response to problems encountered during this period in their development and to move at differing paces toward relative identity formation.

With the prospect of choice and decision, the youth is likely to be shopping around for behavioral models and clarifying definitions that offer the possibility of relative permancence and stability in personal organization. Parents may only ambivalently serve as acceptable models during this period given the youth's early dependency on them. Furthermore, the inability of parents to confer extrinsic personal status is well recognized by the youth, as is the knowledge that a sense of identity and personal worth as an adult requires a degree of social recognition that transcends the family. How parents are displaced as role models is revealed in a study by Havighurst and his associates (1946) in their analysis of essays written by children and youth on the theme, "The Kind of Person I Want to Be." In childhood the persons most clearly idealized are parents, while during early adolescence parents are partially displaced by various glamorous "personalities" such as movie stars, athletes, or fictional characters. But in late adolescence, the most idealized individuals tend to be attractive and visible individuals who exemplify certain valued competences or skills, and who are generally admired by adults in the community. Yet parents are not altogether rejected by the youth. Their significance and function as models tend to vary depending upon socioeconomic status and the nature of early parent-child relationships.

Perhaps at no other time is the tendency to rely on models more open to observation than during the adolescent period of development. The literature abounds in examples of youth seeking desperately for someone to have faith in, to look up to, someone to serve as a reliable and trustworthy model for experimentation and guidance into their new identities (Goethals and Klos, 1970). "To such a person," Erikson (1956) writes, "the late adolescent wants to be an apprentice or disciple, a follower . . . a patient." The phrase "in search of identity" quite appropriately describes the youth's experimentation with different models and value systems to find the ones of best fit. Since identity is something to be cultivated and not merely a function of social inheritance, there is the necessity of experimenting and choosing, and the possibility of making incorrect and inappropriate choices. Nonetheless, how the youth relates himself and is related to his society is revealed through these crucial choices.

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To the extent that identity formation involves the activity of relating oneself to persons, values, and institutions in one's society, it invariably involves the process of identification. As the massive literature and research reveals, the process of identification is one of the principal media through which behavior, values, skills, and other identity elements are learned--the essential means by which identity grows in ever more mature interplay with the identities of the individual's models. The cultivation of identity through the process of identification inevitably gives to the individual's identity features which are common to the identities of others. Thus the youth identifies with others and those others become extensions of his identity, i.e., features or symbols of its content.

The selection and identification with role models may be determined by several factors. As Bandura and Walters (1963) have shown, models must be perceived as having high utility value for the realization of personal aspirations and goals. In addition, such variables as age, sex, social class, and racial and ethnic status are all important determinants in role model selection. Equally important are the potential identifier's own characteristics that affect his preferences and determine the types of models who are selected for observation and emulation (Bandura and Walters, 1970). Most youth may be assumed to have some plans regarding their personal futures, the outlines of which areonly roughly sketched in. Hence, the youth's anticipations and aspirations may be said to serve as the reference ground for present conduct and stylizations of his identity (Hauser, 1971). In his choice of models he is likely to choose attributes or qualities that fit him, become him, those things that go with his other qualities. Again, much depends on how the youth sees himself and his future, for appropriateness and fit are only meaningful in terms of the ideal identity for which the qualities of the model are chosen.

In considering the role of models as they function in the service of relative identity formation, attention should be focused on relevant psychosocial tasks to be resolved at this stage in the life cycle. Among the tasks encountered during this period are those of instrumental and interpersonal competence, i.e., the development of role skills and styles of performance related to particular social roles. For male youth, choosing and preparing for a vocational role takes precedence in awareness, since occupation plays a crucial defining role in his identity (Blau, 1963). The dominant theme in his choice of models is therefore likely to be work relevant. An equally important task has to do with the establishment of a set of personal values and, more generally, the commitment to an ideological system. Lane (1969) and Smith et al. (1956), among others, have demonstrated the important function of ideological commitments in the search for a personal sense of identity. The values to which the youth commits himself are not simply carbon copies of parental values, nor are they the result of internalization of disembodied rules, principles, or other abstractions; rather they are the outcome of discovery through experience of these ideals and principles appropriate to his circumstances.

From the foregoing, two types of role models can be conceptually distinguished. Models may be conceived as: (1) specific persons who serve as examples by means of which specific skills and behavior patterns are acquired, and (2) a set of attributes or ideal qualities which may or may not be linked directly with any one particular person as such, in which case the model is symbolic, representing a synthesis of diffuse and discrete phenomena. Hence, *exemplary* and *symbolic* models may be observed to serve different functions and to be invested with quite different meanings by the youth engaged in the process of cultivating various features of his social and personal identity.

Exemplary models may be seen as persons who provide the technical knowledge, skills, or behavioral patterns which can be effectively utilized by the youth for developing certain competencies; in effect, they demonstrate for the youth how something is done (Kemper, 1968). A variety of exemplary models may be utilized for cultivating different features of identity and may reflect more clearly achievement strivings and identity goals. Symbolic models may be conceived as representing particular value orientations, ideal or ideological perspectives. We have in mind the tendency of cultures to embody abstract values, principles, and other "collective representations" in mythical, historical, and living figures (e.g., heroes), and the inclination of individuals to view certain figures as repositories of particular virtues, ideals, or esteemed attributes. As persons, symbolic models function as guides in the search for congenial ideology and values through their "personalization" of values and ideals. Through personal achievement, courage, or social activities, they serve to inspire adherence to certain ways of behaving and thinking.

The nature and extent of a given model's influence in the emerging psychosocial identity of youth may vary, and such a possibility must be taken into account. As a means of approach, the relationship between a given youth and his models may be conceptualized in terms of *type, content and scope* of their relationship. *Type* refers to the quality or tone of the relationship and may be defined as *positive, negative or neutral.* The quality of the relationship between the subject and the model can be established largely through an analysis of the content of the relationship. By *content* we refer to the nature of the model's influence as

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It is in the youth's striving to systematize and order the various and sundry influences on his life that his significant models can be observed to emerge. In fact, the clarity of self-concept can be seen to have been aided by the establishment of significant identifications; we found that such models could be isolated for most of these youth and that they were closely related to the quality of integration of their psychosocial organization.

Who are the figures that emerge in the imagery of these youth as they move toward engagement of identity-related issues and the task of evolving an identity ideal? When the data are analyzed for those models having a significant impact on the psychosocial identity of these youth, patterns of identification are centered primarily, though not exclusively, in the family. Parental models are observed to play powerfully active roles in the evolving sense of identity of these youth. To be sure, other models are also observed to have a significant impact on shaping their identities and tend to reflect certain styles of psychosocial development.

Most behavioral scientists seem to agree that the influence of one parent or the other tends to exceed the influence of any other one or two persons in our lives. Some students attribute the more formative and influential role to the mother whose early relationship with the child is assumed to be of crucial importance in subsequent development. In this connection, the role of the black mother has been given particular attention owing to her alleged dominant position in the family and the assumed consequences this seems to have for the child. A variety of empirical evidence would appear to support the view of the mother's influential role in the child's early development (Emmerich, 1956; Mussen, 1969; Winch, 1962). However, a somewhat different pattern of influence may emerge during later stages of development. For the male youth, the mother may continue to function as an object of moral and emotional support, while others, including the father, serve as models through whom he seeks to cultivate his social and personal identity. Indeed, this is precisely the pattern which emerges from the accounts of our subjects. The model who figures most priminently in their accounts of their more recent development is clearly the father or father surrogate.

From their various accounts it becomes clear that a considerable transformation has occurred over the years in their relationship with the father, growing stronger or weaker as the case may be, as each youth has gained in the capacity and knowledge to make critical judgments of the father's personal qualities, competences, and limitations. Changes at both the conceptual and perceptual levels have apparently resulted in changes in valuing and behaving toward the father as model, and more often than not these changes this is defined or described by the subject. Such influence may be described as having occurred on the level of overt behavior or conscious orientations, with respect to values, aspirations, beliefs, or goals. In addition, the influence of the model may be seen as general or specific, in which case we refer to the *scope* of the model's influence, that is, whether the youth is inclined toward appropriating specific behaviors or orientations of the model, or whether his desire is generally to "be like" the model in most respects. In those terms, the scope of the model's influence would indicate whether he functions in the capacity of exemplary or symbolic model.

This approach to psychosocial development attempts to remedy what Matza (1964) has termed the "hard determinism" perspective, which suffuses sociological and social psychological research at some levels with an emphasis on personal choice, commitment, and uniqueness as essential ingredients in identity formation. Hence, it seeks to focus attention on the interactional and constructive processes of psychosocial development in which the individual is an active participant. Its value lies in the potential for providing useful data on the content and character of black youths' evolving sense of identity as reflected in their choice of models. Its utility has already become apparent in a recent investigation carried out by the author (Taylor, 1973). Some of the more salient findings from that study are summarized below.

BLACK YOUTH AND ROLE MODELS IDENTIFICATION

Thirty black male youth made up the total sample for the investigation. They ranged in age from 18 to 21 and represented a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds and geographical locations. The sample is therefore a highly specific one. To begin with, it consists only of male college youth. While this fact places an important limitation on the kinds of conclusions that can be drawn, the aim was to examine the lives of a certain segment of the youth population to discover the function of role models in their emerging psychosocial economies. The techniques of investigation consisted of the autobiography and the intensive interview. A number of topics empirically shown to be relevant to psychosocial development were explored, including the youth's early and more recent experiences in the family and community, his conceptions of the future as reflected in aspirations and plans, and his value orientations and self-definitions (Douvan and Adelson, 1968; Elder, 1968; Hauser, 1971). Data from these areas provided the basis upon which to establish the general sociohistorical context within which psychosocial development occurred, and it was within this context that role model identifications and their function in psychosocial identity were examined.

have revealed new and different aspects of his personal qualities previously overlooked or ignored. This may be seen to have important consequences for the father's role as model for his son.

At least several factors or conditions could be identified as having influenced the extent to which the father became a salient model for the youth. In general, the father's influence as a model stems from his ability to provide what may be called crucial resources, i.e., pertinent behavior patterns, general value orientations, and the like, which the youth has found, through experience, to be particularly effective in coping with certain developmental problems. Hence, the father's role as significant model was often contingent upon and expressed in terms of what he did or failed to do for the youth at various crucial periods in life. What emerges, then, is a general principle of "reciprocity", i.e., an exchange of resources for identification between father and son (compare Scanzoni, 1971).

For most youths the father functions generally as exemplary rather than as symbolic model. That is, few choose him as their identity ideal. Rather, a pattern emerges whereby the father, during various stages in the early life of the youth, functions as a powerful symbolic model, but growth and maturity lead to an apparent rejection of him at later stages, though he continues to serve the useful function of exemplary model. However, where appropriate opportunities for making critical judgments of the father's personal attributes or competences were not possible, or where such opportunities were severely limited, a transformation in this role frequently did not occur. This tendency was often observed in cases where the father was absent from the home through separation, divorce, or death, and where his place in the psychological economy of the youth became that of an unchanging figure whose personal characteristics and expectations were imagined to always be the same. Under these circumstances, the youth desired to become like this idealized image of the father (often encouraged by the mother and other relatives) and sought to cultivate his putative characteristics.

Just as the father may come to serve as a powerful object of positive identification, both admired and emulated by the youth, he was also observed to function in the capacity of "negative model," an evil prototype of identity features the youth should seek to avoid and of a potential future he should seek to prevent. This seeming rejection of the father as a relevant or useful model does not necessarily see the end of his influence, however. Indeed, he may "live on" in the shadows of the youth's consciousness, assuming the role of *rival*, and thus come to occupy a prominent place in the evolving identity. Implicit here, of course, is the notion that the perception and rejection of the father as appropriate model extends beyond simple nonacceptance of his modes of behavior, attitudes, or values, frequently encompassing the formation of counter-behavior and values. Hence, the father's role as negative model may often turn out to be just as influential in shaping the behavior, values, and identity aspirations of the youth as his function in a more positive sense.

In general, from these data it becomes clear that the father plays a highly significant role in the evolving identity of these youth. It seems that in one way or another, they are compelled to come to terms with the paternal figure. And since different motives may be seen to have driven the youth at different periods in life, the extent to which the father becomes a salient model may be governed by the relevance of certain of his personal attributes or qualities for coping with the central concerns of the youth during a given period, including the resolution of certain tasks related to identity formation. Thus our analysis suggests that the father's function as role model is never static or unchanging, except under conditions where he may be absent from the home during crucial periods in the life of the youth.

Other models are also observed to play active roles in the emergent identity of these youths. While these models are seen to come and go, to wax and wane in importance across the span of the youth's biographical career, they tend to fall roughly into two main categories: work relevant and value relevant models. Both are essential in the youth's ability to evolve an identity ideal, an interrelated set of images that have psychological significance for him. Almost all youth had strong work models, i.e., they had identified closely with someone in a vocational area in which they were interested. Although it is difficult to know whether the choice of an occupation preceded identification with a specific model, or whether the discovery of the model resulted in a strong interest in a given field, it is clear that the model often served to deepen vocational interests and inspire commitment of a significant nature. Indeed, the model was often said to have more clearly focused the interests and energies of the youth, a typical response being: "I became more serious about my studies and more concerned about really preparing myself for a career."

Value relevant models come into focus as the youth moves toward setting priorities among his interests and preferences, as he seeks to give a certain structure and meaning to his life. Such attempts reflect a growing awareness of the diversity of human values, the complexity of human experience, and the relationship between values and the achievement of social purpose. Such value relevant models were both living and dead, and were frequently selected on the basis of their convictions, courage, and achievements. They provided values and beliefs about what is worthwhile in life and inspired hope in the future and in one's individual chance.

Perhaps one of the most serious and recurring problems encountered by many of these youth in evolving an identity ideal--that is, in selecting appropriate models for inclusion in the evolving pattern--has to do with the impermanence of potentially useful models which, in turn, renders significant and lasting identifications difficult, if not impossible. In recent years numerous popular black figures have appeared, persons with whom these youth have become familiar and to whom many have become attracted. Yet the failure of many such persons to withstand the press of events and changing times has often resulted in their failure to hold the imagination of these youth. Indeed, the emergence and demise of once popular models has at times been so incessant as to leave many youth confused, frustrated and eventually unwilling to invest themselves, their admiration, and their trust in any and all models.

Here one may observe a strong skepticism toward popular and not so popular models. The attitude may be assumed that all models are constantly becoming out of date, beginning to decline even as they emerge, since things are in a state of flux. For some youth a solution is found in selecting as models more distant figures, those less vulnerable to change, e.g., the deceased. Thus it is not surprising that such figures as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, Frederick Douglass, or W.E.B. DuBois, all important black men of the past, are identified as the nearly most perfect models by these youth.

Since one's own fate may be thought to be linked with that of one's model in the sense that their failures and humiliations become one's own and, there ore, damaging to self-esteem, the selection of deceased figures may often be seen as "safer" investments, as less susceptible to the vicissitudes of contemporary life than are living models. In any case, one is less likely to be disappointed by such models in the future since their biographical careers have been terminated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although there are perhaps many ways of looking at the process of becoming an adult, that is, of achieving a mature and relatively stable sense of personal identity, we found it to be a useful strategy to see the process as one in which the youth gradually acquires a variety of commitments as revealed through his selections and identifications with certain role models who influence as well as constrain his psychosocial development. In effect, commitments create the conditions for stability in personal organization and thus permit the relative formation of identity. The extent to which a given youth was able to establish significant role model identifications was found to be intimately related to the character and quality of integration of his psychosocial organization. The notion of commitment allows us to focus upon the age at which it becomes possible to make serious choices of some lasting consequence. For example, it seems less likely that children are capable of making lasting commitments which more or less bind them to a future course of development than are youth about to enter upon a new and different status, youth who are not only encouraged to make serious commitments but who have at their disposal a rich variety of social and psychological supports as well as a fund of experience upon which to rely.

How the youth comes eventually to commit himself to achieving a certain identity requires a fuller analysis than we have given here. Investigations have only recently begun in this area of which the work of Hauser (1971) is a notable example. In his investigation of identity formation among black and white lower-class youth, he finds an identity foreclosure pattern to be most prevalent among black youth. He attributes this identity variant to "model deprivation," frequent failure, and to their perception of limited opportunities. Hence, their view of the future, together with absent role models, had a decided effect on their ability to make future commitments, i.e., to stake themselves on achieving certain identities with a fairly confident expectation that such identities would be realized in the future. But what of other youth? What antecedent conditions give rise to their permanence of choice and commitment? Does environmental stability, including such things as changes in family structure, frequent changes in social conditions, and the impermanence of popular and potentially useful models, affect the permanence with which they are able or willing to make more or less lasting commitments? While these data suggest that environmental stability is indeed an important aspect influencing personal commitments, only a more rigorous investigation can produce evidence that would either confirm or deny the validity of this observation.

There would appear to be heuristic value in conceptualizing psychosocial identity as a constructive process, a process mediated by the youth's conception of the future which he may render tractable by choices made in the present. Stated differently, the youth's anticipation of a certain future is the reference point for present conduct and stylizations of identity. His role model identifications would expose the changing meaning of the future. Youth lacking a clear conception of the future, having failed to develop a tentative life plan, were observed to have less instrumental and realistic notions of steps toward their goals, including the selection of appropriate models who might help to bring about their realization. Future investigations might focus more fully on the sequence of models as indications of the youth's changing perspectives, values, and identity goals. In addition, stability and change in role model identifications may offer important insights into the nature of the youth's conception of future possibilities in terms of identity construction.

A thorough developmental analysis of personal and social identity among black youth is a major task that goes beyond the present undertaking. What is required is a comprehensive longitudinal portrayal of development, including description and explanation of the evolving relations between the processes of construction, interaction, and enculturation. We have attempted to develop a tentative conceptual framework which, it is hoped, will facilitate analysis and interpretation in this area, one which will enable us to see the function of role models as integral parts of the developmental and maturational process.

NOTES

1. While it is perhaps true that youth subcultures function as sources of interim status and social support, they are for most youth temporary solutions. It remains for the youth to come to grips with the adult world of experience where a mature (or more acceptable), permanent identity and status are to be found.

2. Orrin Klapp uses the term "symbolic leaders" to describe such persons as movie stars, politicians, and other celebrities; see his *Symbolic Leaders* (1967). Bandura and Walters (1963) have used the term symbolic and exemplary models to describe persons presented through films to children. As these terms are used here, both take on a largely different meaning than those assigned by Klapp or Bandura and Walters.

3. Black females were not included in the sample because it was assumed on the basis of some empirical evidence that females are normally presented with a somewhat different set of psychosocial problems and thus would have made the task of analysis more difficult.

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PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO ADOLESCENT IN THE NEXT DECADE

by

Chester M. Pierce

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PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO ADOLESCENT IN THE NEXT DECADE

THE NEW REALITY: HARSH IS TRUTH

...When I was a teen-ager, a white boy seeking to have an experimental dialogue asked me what it was like to be a Negro. I answered, "It's like being a beautiful women." He was confounded. I went on to point out that like the beautiful woman the Negro could always expect special treatment--only instead of being ingratiating, the treatment took the form of hostility, veiled or unveiled. Like the beautiful woman, the Negro could always expect people to act in a certain way--but this predicted attitude was negative and disdaining instead of positive and admiring. Like the beautiful woman, the Negro never knew if he was accepted for himself or for what was merely skin-deep. So Negroes, like beautiful women, have extreme confusion evaluating their own worth or estimating their true impact on associates or events.

But that was 25 years ago. Today the Negro teen-ager still knows about beautiful women in the same way that I knew about them. In addition, however, he is faced with a paradox I did not suffer. Today he knows there is much, much more opportunity and good-will. Co-temporaneously, there are many problems to be resolved before he can be a functioning, happy, and efficient contributor to the society. He knows that it is much more difficult to be bereft of crippling emotions of fear, anger, hate, and envy. He divines, somehow, that the road to effective love and work relationships is both more arduous to achieve and more probable of completion. This paradox is the harsh truth of a new reality, merciless and bountiful, which has appeared in the United States in only the past decade.

For the adolescent 25 years ago there seemed little likelihood, for instance, that he could aspire to the highest political offices. It would have been rash to aim for certain occupations, especially in selected parts of our country. Not many (or any) in his acquaintanceship would have considered it possible that Negroes would be *solicited* and *implored* to be guests at exclusive social functions conducted by the majority. A quarter of a century ago Negro youth could believe and, in fact, would have to believe that all men were not equal before the law. Furthermore, the law, that coherent interpretation and enlightened revision of custom, seemed made for the majority and only for the majority.

All this is changing. It seems almost as amazing as it is fortunate. Already it is an alien world that I recall to my teen-ager when I mention the black curtains I was obliged to eat behind when I travelled on a train. Yet my earliest memories of race struggle involving the issue of where Long Island Negroes could sit at a movie theatre will seem tame to the youngster who becomes an adolescent during the next decade, for in his early memories that youth will recall issues of calls to violence and

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denunciations of gradualism. He will recall the emotional genre as one of anxiety and dissatisfaction. Today's teen-ager is correctly dissatified and anxious even though he has been told that a Negro could be President of the United States during his lifetime; even though he realizes that a Negro ceramic physicist is as welcomed in a laboratory in Alabama as he is in California; even though he knows about the strenuous and genuine efforts whites are making to include Negroes in all sorts of social activities; even though he reads that Negroes are much more likely to obtain justice from the courts.

Hence the twins anxiety and dissatisfaction take residence in a harsh social reality which is at the same time merciless and bountiful. These are the basic ingredients which are grafted into the usual problems of American adolescent conflicts which the Negro teen-ager must resolve. The resolution is compounded by the catalyst of extreme confusion of self-image that the Negro teen-ager shares with the beautiful woman. Most of this chapter will be devoted to a consideration of the specific and personal problems that the Negro teen-ager will have to overcome during the period of his resolution of adolescent conflicts. The new reality, though harsh, is exciting, and the world community should reap abundant harvest from the successful resolution of adolescent conflicts by American Negroes over the next couple of decades.

THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONRY

Unlike any creatures who have ever inhabited the earth, any youth born in the last 20-odd years has been molded under an exquisite and concerned anxiety born out of incessant stimuli of an awesome knowledge. This uneasy knowledge is that men now have weapons capable of annihilating civilization in a matter of minutes. Even more gruesome is the grisly knowleged that whatever weapons men have fashioned in the past they have *always* used.

On a pre-conscious and conscious level the Negro adolescent must reckon with the fact that most of the awful things in his world are the result of the doings of white men. Now the ultimate in awful things can happen even before he has had an opportunity to taste life, because of the decision of white men. Thus the youth may feel an urgency to live fully each moment of his life and he becomes involved in a host of activities which promote his definition of living urgently. Here the mature ideal is the quest to partake in decision making for events which affect his life as well as his white brother's. This is the absolute in social opportunity.

KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

An exquisite and concerned dissatisfaction results from the awareness of the gap between how most whites live and how most Negroes live. To an extent which would have been unimaginable 25 years ago, Everyman is aware of this gap which is characterized by the wonders of technology, information dispersal, and communication. The maturing Negro realized that in order to close the gap it will be necessary to pursue the quest for open enrollment in all our institutions of learning. This is the absolute in educational opportunity.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

An adolescent today is living on a planet at the brink of a very hot war. Yet, he is also living in a situation where, for a variety of reasons, studied effort is being made to reduce strife by means of a world-wide war on poverty. Because of the ease with which the battles of this war provide opportunities to help resolve conflicts of dependency, hostility, sexuality, and prestige, few teen-agers can escape serious contemplation about enlisting in the fight. Furthermore, warriors are needed everywhere and are loved for whatever modicum of success they institute or achieve. Best of all, one can enlist and engage the enemy at home or abroad in many different ways.

The historian of the future may well emphasize that this war had many far-reaching overtones beyond feeding the world's increasing population. Feeding, after all, is a technical problem. Its solution might even be carried out with a generosity propelled by a patronizing condescension necessitated by crass and selfish considerations.

In this war the true fight has an immediate and universal appeal. The desired end result of the war is to provide literacy and dignity to each man so that each man can live with more self-respect. The ideal will be for everyone to contribute rather than to be contributed to. The maturing young adult may feel heavy obligations to join this quest to eliminate poverty and guarantee self-respect. This is the absolute in economic opportunity.

By definition no absolute can be attained. During the next 10 years we can anticipate all manner of troubles in securing social, educational, and economic opportunity. For example, we will see more youth who define living urgently in terms of drug addiction and criminal activity. We will watch the pitiable and angry bumbling of school dropouts who, though increasingly aware of what they do not have, will be progressively less able to achieve. We will increase the welfare lists by those who have been rendered suspicious and apathetic about their chances to extricate themselves from economic nothingness. These are the ones who will never gain enough self-respect to be able to help others and thus reduce friction in our society.

Regrettably, as things now stand, the large mass of Negro adolescents will be unable to adopt attitudes to those problems of social, educational, and economic opportunity. Hence we can expect an aggravation of dissatisfaction and anxieties. These deadly twins will entertain violence and terror with increasing frequency and grandeur unless drastic curatives are applied with celerity.

Fortunately, an increasingly large number (but by no means a significantly large number) of Negro adolescents will meet the challenges of the new reality and benefit from its magnificence. Let us now trace some of the specific and personal problems they will solve. For the youth who does not solve these problems in the new reality of the next decade and a half, we can expect only more wretchedness, unhappiness, and hoplessness, the miserable assistants of dissatisfaction and anxiety.

NEW PROBLEMS: AWARENESS OF THE GAP AND AWARENESS OF THE OPPORTUNITIES

Unlike the Japanese-American youth or the American Indian teen-ager, the Afro-American young adult has no burden occasioned by loyalties to a dual culture. The Negro knows without equivocation or remorse that his wants in the American society are congruent with those of the large majority. In the past the acquisition of even gross and commonplace benefits of American society was beyond the grasp of the most wealthy or the best known Negroes. The developing psychic structure for all Negroes, if it was to be in tune with reality, had to reflect this overwhelming aspect of life in the United States. By age 15 every Negro would have to know that it would be virtually impossible for him to join certain unions or to gain admission to certain restaurants or to be able to attend certain amusement parks. This held true even if one had countless riches or if one was a celebrity whose face and name might be recognized over the entire world.

To a large degree today's teen-ager must understand the same things but it is becoming less of a problem, for instance, to know if he can get service in a hotel or a store. Yet it remains true that, along with the confusion of image, the Negro must contend with a confusion of cues as to whether or not he is welcomed or to what degree he is welcomed, no matter where he goes.

The big difference today, however, is that the colored teen-ager knows that it is increasingly possible to get the most coveted benefits of our society. It means too that he must be aware that to secure such benefits he must pay the price. Herein lies another change in the psychic development of the youth of today compared to the youth of 25 years ago.

In previous times the Negro had a defense system which was an all-inclusive umbrella against any onslaught which might serve to humiliate, shame, degrade, or provoke anxiety or wrath. This defense system was expressed as "What else could I do--that's all the white man let me accomplish." Thus if one was successful, one could invoke this formula to make oneself even more lovable and competent. On the other hand, if one failed, the same formula was useful and could be applied both for one's own benefit and as a public expression to either the white or Negro communities.

With the rapid burgeoning of opportunities for Negroes, this formula will no longer suffice. It may be that the decay of the usefulness of this defense system will spell at worst horror and at best chagrin for the American people. For when the Negro teen-ager can no longer "cry race," then the twins of dissatisfaction and anxiety, along with their entourage, may mobilize to a degree heretofore unknown.

There are many corollaries to this issue of being aware of the gap and suddenly being permitted to close it. Much has been written on the problems it will entail because most Negroes, understandably, are not technically prepared to accept job opportunities or educational advantages, etc. Much has been said of how defensive whites become when Negroes are given extra privileges, particularly if the Negro is unable to function at a consistently high level (or even average level).

Relatively little, however, has been said of still other issues which relate to the obliteration of one of the major defense reactions of our race. For instance, the Negro will now find it difficult to become "great." In the past, other than athletes and entertainers, the role-model for the great Negro might be, say, an Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This was admirable and realistic. Now, however, the teen-age dreamer (and all teen-agers do dream) must aspire to such lofty levels as a "captain of industry" or an extremely high political rank or a famous scientist, etc. In short, it will be more difficult to be great and easier to feel dwarfed into insignificance and personal anonymity. A modest success will no longer bring the same ego satisfactions for the Negro.

Other problems will help increase potential dissatisfaction and anxiety. With education being made "free," many youths will not be able to take advantage of it nor be able to fall back on the old umbrella defense. In order to go to high school, for instance, one needs (especially if one is a teen-ager) money for the accoutrements that his peers would have. Thus a free high school or community college or on the job training institute has hidden but definite costs such as for clothes, towel fees, activity cards, etc.

Still more elements can be stirred into the cauldron. With the dissolution of the umbrella defense the Negro youth will find it necessary to learn to evaluate whites as individuals. He may also feel it necessary to be somewhat rebellious over what he sees as white *noblesse oblige* (when in actuality he diagnoses that much of the opportunity being made available is granted quite grudgingly and only because of precious advantages to the whites such as the need to fill manpower shortages or the need to stabilize the economy by not losing prestige in the eyes of the world). The youth will have to learn how to adjust to being accepted and not just tolerated.

Hopefully, some Negroes will even have to learn how to adjust to being integrated and not just desegregated. In terms of my own operational definition of integration such a goal is far remote. I believe our society will be integrated when no has to think anytime during a day about his color. Every day of my existence in the United States I have been reminded, usually dozens of times, of my racial persuasion. A white cannot possibly comprehend the amount of psychic energy that is required to be a Negro. The teen-ager of the next decade and a half, I think, will find ample reasons each day to consider his skin color. He will burn up energy, which could be put to better use in the society, merely because he is Negro. His resentment, however, may be far greater than mine was when I was his age.

These new types of problems are inevitable in the structuring of the new reality. Although there is potential for dissatisfaction and anxiety to a degree not yet known, the chance to compete and to be accepted (if not integrated) doubtlessly will be achieved by many Negro adolescents. Our world will profit by this achievement. What will be required to make the achievement, without the comforting solace of an umbrella defense, will be a capacity for flexibility. As more opportunities are provided (even in the face of increasing white backlash) there will be many who do override possible dissatisfaction and anxiety and do attempt to move away from the helpless and hopeless state which describes the ghetto. We should now turn to the types of flexibility that will be required of more and more as they move up to accept and to exploit opportunity.

MOVING UP: A CHANCE FOR SOME

Over the last decade a number of Negroes have been able to procure positions in areas where Negroes were unwelcomed in the not too distant past. The clinical observations of these Negroes may provide a basis for projecting what many young Negroes will face in the next decade and a half. Public and private sectors of the economy no longer demand Negroes merely on a token basis as happened to many of the avant-garde of the last decade. Today opportunities exist if the person is qualified for the position. Even so, like their avant-garde big brothers and sisters, a not inconsiderable number of Negroes who move up into these positions will have to overcome transitional barriers and perhaps live still with an unpleasant fact of life in a society which will still be discriminatory. The man who now is up may be "underemployed" and he will still be most likely to be eliminated in times of economic duress. Naturally, the chances for such an unhappy plight are reduced in the direct proportion that the Negro will have exploitable and tangible skills. This is synonymous with saying the best educated Negro will suffer less--as has always been the case, of course. The point to be made here, however, is that there will be many more carpenters than astrophysicists who are moving up. For the many there will be once more irritations concomitant with dissatisfaction and anxiety. In this instance the twins will delight and sparkle as they operate on the Everyman who is moving up yet facing large transitional barriers and being unemployed. The best remedy for this plight is to be certain that the teen-ager is informed and knowledgeable about the struggles involved in order to gain the benefits of leaving the ghetto.

From my experience with patients who are upwardly mobile there are several broad areas to be transcended. One must appreciate that, since over 90% of American children are educated in segregated schools, the Negro (expecially the one at the carpenter instead of the astrophysicist level) who moves up goes into a totally different world. In this situation the incessant burden is on him to prove himself to the satisfaction of the majority. The converse does not hold. The drain on the psychic economy can be of a quality and quantity that the person has never experienced in a lifetime in a segregated school and segregated community. Thus the Negro adolescent who has the possibility of moving up must be prepared for a "culture shock."

My patients frequently express concern about their verbal and reading skills. Many are sensitive also about the expression of niceties and graces even to those whites for whom they have respect and trust. Problems arise concerning identification with white fashions or entertainment. There is an awkwardness related to being marginal in a group where you are uncertain as to the basic cues, assumptions, and beliefs. My patients seem overeager to return, at the end of a work day, to the security of a group which they know and which brings up no issues of acceptance. Curiously, for many there are disenchantments in the closer contact with the white world. So successfully has the Negro been brainwashed concerning his image and the image of whites that he is sometimes shocked to find rampant and flagrant human frailty among whites, even though the Negro may have expended considerable time and effort berating whites for their assumption of superiority. Patients have told me how unsettling it was to discover how widespread petty office thievery or promiscuity or hostile interpersonal relations were among the whites with whom they worked.

This chagrin tells only part of the problem, however. For the deficiencies of the whies are observed in a setting where the Negro is striving for acceptance. Yet, often he feels he has been thrust into positions where he can fail or at least mark time. He feels the constant fear of being retaliated against for the presumption of arriving in the better life situation. At the same time he is aware of possible criticism from the Negro group which he interprets as an angry envy at his alleviated condition.

Under these conditions of ever present doubt and fear of biracial criticism it is not surprising that the individual focuses on throughts of whether or not he is different. The consequences of being different on the one hand might loosen the ties to what is known and secure (the Negro world) and yet might gain only tolerance, not acceptance or "integration," in what is unknown and insecure (the white world).

In the past there were two common psychological maneuvers that aided solution of this dilemma for the upwardly mobile Negro. First, one could appear to be good, but not too good, to the Negro world. One avoided being "too hinckty." Secondly, one settled for a job for which he was over-qualified and/or was the best worker in that position. This makes him appear not too good to the white world.

Now, under the terms of the new reality and under the world-wide pressure for individual self-respect, these maneuvers may dissolve along with the ego mechanism of "What else could I do--it's all the white man allowed me." Thus the adolescent of the future will be resolving his conflicts along lines that demand that he get the best available job and that he function well in it. Further, he will have considerably less concern about peer relations since there will be more vicarious positive feeling about an individual's achievement by the black community. That is, as the Negro self-image modifies, each person will recognize that achievement by man A helps man B get to a place where he might be able to achieve....

Black Consciousness subsumes the hotly ambiguous term "Black Power." Psycho-social factors such as I have outlined will force more Negroes to these thoughts. In fact,the modification of the self-image will depend on some sort of positive interpretations of being a member of the black race. Hence Negroes will have to give over more thought and effort, in the next decade and a half, to the question of what can we do for ourselves? What can we do to be proud? How can we dilute all these things that promote dissatisfaction and anxiety? How can we co-operate amongst ourselves in order to be permitted to be better contributors to the society (so that more benefits will return)? Much of the stimulation to answer these questions will come from the segments of the Negro society which have had the most frequent and the most pleasant contacts with the white community, namely the black intellectuals and the "haves" (successful businessman, professionals, athletes, entertainers).

During adolescent conflict resolution, therefore, the youth will have to develop some philosophy in regard to Black Consciousness. My belief is that this philosophy will be strongly pro-Black Consciousness in those who best succeed in the society. This is not to say there has to be a balancing of anti-white feeling. It is the recognition that by two decades from now our great inner city ghettos probably will not have been razed. We will still be a long way from the operational definition of integration. The great advantage of Black Consciousness will be that it will help to rectify some of the negative imagery given to Negroes in the years since slavery. It will aid in the move up since it will provide a confidence impossible where a self-image is largely negative.

Some economic and social factors will help to promote Black Consciousness feelings in Negro youth who are moving up. The economic factors relate to the growing dissatisfaction about and awareness of the oppressive job market. The social factors have to do with what the youth will see to be the reward system by which white America functions.

As the young adolescent views the social climate of his time and contemplates the stark unfairness of his economic plight (for instance, having more trouble getting a mortgage or having to pay more for credit) dissatisfaction and anxiety will continue to gnaw at his very soul. It may be at this point that the youngster begins to appreciate a couple of factors in the social psychology of the white American.

White America is conditioned to applaud and reward 1) those who help themselves and 2) those who are assertive enough to force their demands. The youngster will not have to be given academic instruction to realize that desegregation has only taken place where there has been applied and constant pressure, usually from the black community. However, in all matters including those which are non-racial, the American establishment, perhaps because of its pioneer background and its philosophy of democracy, always has rewarded self-help. Furthermore, the American people in personal or even international relations time after time give overt approval to and have wide tolerance for the action which overwhelms the opponent. The American psychology is not pacific or passive. Nor does the American reward or cherish the pacific and passive.

Now the cauldron includes dissatisfactions and anxiety from a host of factors, such as the catalyst of Black Consciousness and the awareness of the whites' regard for assertive self-help coupled with a reluctance by the majority to share. Even though many will be moving up because skills are needed and the racial climate is in many places much improved, the inescapable conclusion for most adolescents over the next couple of decades probably will be that only violence and sacrifice will budge certain resistive elements in the white community. These elements will be dispersed generally but will include the less skilled as well as ethnic groups which have more recently arrived in the United States.

Moving up then becomes paradoxically easier and harder than in previous times. Opportunities will be more abundant. More will be able to move up. Yet greater sacrifices and more problems of both subtle and gross confrontation with whites will face those who move. In addition to these pressures which will produce a culture shock, the youth must be prepared to be flexible, adaptive, and opportunistic. Because of automation any youth, white or black, who starts work today faces the need to be re-cycled eight times on his job during his lifetime. If the black youth is to move up he will have, probably, even more recycles and readjustments during his lifetime. He should be prepared for such eventuality.

In deciding upon his career still other factors will enter into the thinking of Negro adolescents in the next 15 years. He will look about him to see where Negroes seem to have job opportunities. Some of what he sees might be surprising.

Over the next decade and a half, if current trends continue, the Negro will occupy an increasingly larger percentage of positions in the armed forces, in hospitals, and in local and national government. Already, for instance, Negroes reenlist at twice the rate of whites. Like hospital and government jobs, life in the armed forces offers the Negro the dignity and self-respect of vocation and usually represents both a move upward and security. For the white such jobs often mean mediocrity and no upward mobility. As the economy allows more whites to move up, Negroes will be able to fill more of such positions.

In addition as time goes on the Negro can expect that the build up of the suburbs and the re-building of the inner city might promote job opportunities in such areas as construction, finance, insurance, real estate, and service positions. Service positions will not mean merely domestic service (which in our affluent, technological society still will require workers) but will include food distribution, working in stores, marketing, advertising, and computer programming as well as the standard professional opportunities. For the few, yet amazingly many as we think of it in today's terms, there will be top management jobs and membership on important boards of directors.

To move up to these positions will mean that not only has the society made the position available to the Negro but that the Negro youth will be suitably trained to accept the position. This means, in general, that the Negro will have to receive a greater quantity and better quality of education. He will have to be permitted access to craft apprenticeships and he will have to take advantage of job training programs. If for whatever reason conditions do not permit these types of preparation the adolescent will be made even more dissatisfied about the inequity, anxious about his livelihood, and angry at the *status quo*.

Nearly all studies indicate that, compared to white peers and white parents, the Negro youth and his parents are much more concerned to get as much preparation as their situation will permit. This cultural emphasis on the value of preparation doubtlessly will continue and thus will be an important factor in molding adloescent behavior. The problem of course is that so often one cannot take advantage of an opportunity because of the duress of poverty. Such persons will be the potentially explosive ghetto residents of the future.

For those Negroes who do move up, however, one of their major functions will be to re-educate the whites with whom they come into contact. Such interracial dialogues, going on at ever increasing intensity and frequency, will lead to amelioration of racial conflict. As more people get to understand more of each other and rub off each other's angularities and gain access to the other's life compartments, then there will be less friction on the basis of color. A well-known sociological principle stated that, in general, the more people see of each other, the more they like each other. Thus moving up by the Negro will help the American society so that it will become progressively easier for succeeding teen-agers to be welcomed into true interracial living if they can overcome the obstacles to opportunity. In this sense the teen-ager who resolves his adolescent conflicts from years 1 to 5 of this decade will face more problems than the person who begins his adolescent resolution in year 10 of this decade.

The teen-ager of the next decade, therefore, may have fewer of the experiences which now plague the upwardly mobile Negro. My patients reiterate that in personnel offices they are told such things as, "... this is not exactly your background... your IQ is too high for this job... you're too well trained to be happy here." When a person is hungry and told this it is more than aggravating. Such passive discouragement will lessen but the youth may still feel latent discouragement by employers solely on the basis of his color. For instance, even if working and being paid at a level appropriate to his training, he may find clues that lead him to wonder if management gives him excessive supervision or if his bosses are not overly unhappy that he works around white females.

This brings us to the fact that the upwardly mobile, while having interracial dialogues, will have to disabuse whites of some of their myths about Negroes. In addition the white will have to learn what it means to be a Negro. He will consider the latter issue first.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SANSEI FEMALE

by

Magoroh Maruyama

Magoroh Maruyama, "Autobiography of a Sansei Female," *Diversities in the Development of Ethnic Identifications Among the Sanseis*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SANSEI FEMALE

Never before have I seriously attempted to dissect my feelings and attitudes about myself as a Japanese-American. Aborted attempts were made but never brought to final fruition. I suspect because certain truths about oneself are unbearably painful, I preferred to postpone my confrontation with reality until I was able to cope with the consequences of such a confrontation.

I am Japanese and there is no denying this. On the other hand, I am also American, not a White American, but a diluted, yellow-White one. I say yellow-White American because no matter how hard I try to reject the values of the dominant White society, these very values remain ingrained in me. So much so that I am unconscious of their presence. This truth I have had to face in spite of my newly-found pride in ethnic origin. To accept myself as a total person, I also have to accept the dual existence of Asian and American values in my life. For the modern Asian raised in the Asian-American style, the struggle for a clear-cut identity is a very real dilemma, in spite of the similarities between the two culture's value systems. My parents urged me, unconsciously I am certain, to perpetuate the stereotype of the quiet, polite, unassuming Asian. But survival in American society requires one to speak up vociferously to defend one's rights and gain recognition. Slowly, I am rejecting the Asian stereotypes in order that by doing so, I am contributing to the elimination of the Asian stereotypes held by White America. A change in attitudes of Caucasians toward Asians will not occur until we alter the attitudes we have toward ourselves.

Discrimination toward Asian Americans today is usually so subtle that one of Asian ancestry may not be able to recognize prejudices at work. I am very sensitive to verbal and non-verbal reactions of Whites to me. I have to be able to distinguish between discriminatory remarks and "non-color" remarks or actions. Asian American, much like the Blacks, are on the defensive. Only after carefully examining each situation can we attribute an action or remark to prejudice. For example, if I fail to get a desired job, can I blame my failure on racial prejudice or on my own lack of ability? The circumstances of the situation must be considered before any conclusions are drawn. I feel I have experienced subtle discrimination...the kind of discrimination which is more difficult to detect, define and to cope with. While shopping at so-called "better stores," I have come into contact with rather aloof saleswomen who have treated me with cold indifference. I could almost sense their thinking, "What could she possibly want or afford in this store?" At first, I felt their superior, haughty behavior was a reaction to the way I was dressed on those occasions. But no, even when I was properly attired, I was treated in like manner.

I have had similar experiences in restaurants where I have been treated differently and made to wait a bit longer. Once, a friend and I had lunch at San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf. I had chosen the wharf because this particular friend was a first-time visitor to the city. We were seated and our orders were taken before those of the older White women who had come in after us. Well, those two White women were served before us. We noticed this but preferred to believe the waiter had had a slight mix-up of orders. I knew the oversight was not because our dishes took longer to prepare as the women were having the same lobster dish I had ordered. When our meals arrived, they were overdone. I know I should have refused to accept the dishes but I remained silent as the waiter suspected I would. (Stereotype: Asians never complain; for that matter, most people don't.) My friend, when asked by the waiter upon completion of the meal if she had enjoyed it replied, "Not really, it was overcooked."

I had a very painful experience while in Europe with my mother. People are always saying how tolerant the Europeans are of race, creed and color. A Black friend told me about his wonderful experiences in Europe where he never encountered discrimination. I did in Vienna, Austria. I was particularly aware of being constantly stared at--the staring was not always friendly. My unpleasant experience with the hotel concierge is still fresh in my memory. One morning before going out on a tour, I went to the hotel desk to use a pen to sign a traveller's cheque. I used the concierge's pen, then placed the pen on the desk. Mom and I left for the tour and returned several hours later. When I arrived at the desk, the concierge asked me brusquely, "May I have my pen back please?" I told him I did not have it as I distinctly remember returning it. But he was certain I had it on my person. He then asked me to check my handbag which I did reluctantly...still, no pen. I explained to him that I was not in the habit of stealing pens. He then said, "I had that pen for five years." Obviously, he did not believe me. I was never so insulted in my life. I am certain this man would never have approached any other hotel guest as he did me. He was either terribly rude and unworldly or he was just prejudiced. I believe he was the latter.

I think most Asian Americans have experienced discrimination, overt or subtle, directed against them. I asked a number of my friends if they had ever been discriminated against. To my surprise, they said no. This made me wonder if I was subtly harassed because of my personality and not because of my color. I also wondered if I was being too sensitive and a bit paranoid. But knowing my friends led me to one conclusion... if they had encountered prejudice, they did not recognize it or they refused to recognize it. By recognizing prejudice directed at you, you are forced to look at yourself and what you are. You are compelled to see yourself as different, as a member of a minority group. Facing the truth can be a painful experience. You are not quite as White as the White society you wish to identify yourself with.

I have finally faced this reality. I am yellow--I cannot change what I am. I can say honestly now that I am proud of being Japanese. This pride is based upon our illustrious history as a people, our culture, and our undying spirit. Even as imprisoned peoples during World War II, the Japanese displayed courage and ethnic pride. My mother told me a great deal about her camp experiences. She fondly recalls the unity and high morale of the group during internment. As an act of defiance and also as an exercise in keeping the morale high, the

Japanese in the Rivers, Arizona camp celebrated all of the traditional festivals and holidays of their native land by donning native costumes (kimonos, yukatas), dancing native dances, and eating traditional foods. Once, during the big New Year's celebration, a few daring, young Japanese boys stealthily climbed a small hill within the compound and hoisted up the flag of Japan emblazoned with the symbolic rising sun. The Army officials quickly removed it and demanded to know who put the flag up. They never found the culprits. The Japanese enjoyed the stunt immensely. This was just one incident my mother recounted. To my memory, my father on the other hand, has never discussed his camp experiences. For a man, such involuntary imprisonment was an emasculating experience. The role of "breadwinner" and protector of the family was taken away from him. My dad will never again reside on the U.S. mainland; he refers to remain in Hawaii which boasts large Asian population.

In spite of their internment during the war, my parents feel a sense of gratitude toward the U.S. For them, the "American Dream" has been realized... they have enjoyed a modest success in their business, they have earned and saved enough for their dream home, they have purchased that second new car and now look forward to a life filled with more leisure and less struggle. I am happy for them but for me, such attainment is not enough. I feel where real equality is concerned, we still have a long way to go. Unlike my parents, I don't feel a sense of gratitude toward the U.S. What we have, we earned. We made our opportunities when there were none and capitalized on them.

I feel a common bond with my Asian brethren, whereas at one time I did not. As a Japanese raised in Hawaii, I looked upon the Asians on the U.S. mainland as a different breed. I felt they were too American because they thought, acted and spoke like the Caucasian. I now realize this was an Island stereotype of the West Coast Asian. Also, if there is truth in the belief that the West Coast Japanese are stand-offish and less open and friendly, then it is probably due to their greater exposure to racial prejudice. The Japanese here have always been aware of their minority group status. Now that I reside in California and have Asian friends here, I find the Asians friendly, informed and involved. I have changed...I am aware of our group's social problems as well as the problems of other minority groups. I identify with these minorities and feel we need the strength of unity to attain our goals in this society...our goals being 1) recognition as individuals and not as stereotyped peoples; 2) equality; and 3) 3) eradication of racial prejudice, etc.

I am already looking forward to the day when I start my family. My husband, who is White, and I want our children to be proud of their Japanese-American heritage. Presently, we are tracing my family lines back to my early Japanese ancestors who lived in the old country hundreds of years ago. Then we will be able to pass on this valuable knowledge to our children. We want them to be familiar with the Japanese language and customs. Sadly, I, a third-generation Japanese in the U.S., have lost a great deal of the Japanese traditions. I wish I had paid closer attention to the traditional Japanese ways of my parents and grandparents. My mother told me years ago when I turned my back on things Japanese, that one day, I would regret not learning more about Japanese culture. She was right.

So, as inadequate a teacher as I may be, I will attempt to transmit to my children one day, what little I have retained of my Japanese heritage. I hope our half-White, half-Yellow children will be proud of being Japanese-American.

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THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION WITH MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

by

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THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION WITH MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

We work in a community mental health center serving a catchment area that is close to 50 per cent Mexican American.* The patient population of the clinic is also roughly half Mexican American. This is unusual, for many studies have shown that Mexican Americans are greatly underrepresented in the outpatient population of mental health centers, in proportion to the percentage of the total population they represent.

If the statistics are clear, the reasons are less so. One explanation argues that Mexican Americans have less need for mental health services because they have less mental illness. An alternative explanation suggests that, in spite of their need, they simply do not utilize the services available.

Through this article we hope to stimulate some thoughts regarding need and utilization and to present some speculations concerning why the treatment of members of Mexican-American families must sometimes be different from what is appropriate to other ethnic groups.

A number of cultural characteristics require awareness and sensitivity on the part of the therapist if he is to function effectively when working with Mexican Americans.* Some of these are characteristic of other cultures too, but with a lesser degree of importance. When dealing with Mexican Americans, the therapist who disregards cultural differences ("Everyone is basically the same") will probably find himself confronted with an armor of resistance, little therapeutic movement, and a client who drops out early in the process.

Arguments to support the proposition that the need is less among Mexican Americans would include the fact that most of them live within the network of a close-knit extended family. It is the exception, rather than the rule, for the nuclear family to move across the country or even to a neighboring state and thus leave the supporting network of the extended family. When family members must do so, it is experienced as a difficulty rather than a relief, as is so often the case with middle-class Anglo families.

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* "Mexican American" refers to those who identify themselves as of Mexican-American descent, including (1) persons with both Spanish and non-Spanish surnames whose parents were born in Mexico or are naturalized, (2) persons who were born in the United States and whose parents are of Mexican descent, and (3) those who have one parent who was born in Mexico or Latin America.

* The therapist must also keep in mind that many of these characteristics are in the process of undergoing considerable change.

The cultural heritage of Mexican Americans is rich and strong. On the Indian side of their ancestry, they are descended from an advanced civilization; on the Spanish side, they come from a historically powerful and proud people. They can point this proud heritage out to their children, and this in turn promotes self-esteem and mental health. Research indicates that a crucial factor in the course of depression is hope. While poverty often breeds despair, there is more hope to convey to one's children (and therefore more hope to feel oneself) if significant numbers of middle-class, prosperous, and respected members of one's own ethnic group are readily visible within the larger community.

While these arguments support the proposition that Mexican-American families have less need for mental health services than others, there are more arguments to support the view that they have at least as much need for these services as members of any other group. Many of the problems of living that serve as indices in defining children or families at high risk are common in the *barrio*.* Poverty and its concomitant poor nutrition, lack of prenatal and pediatric care, and absence of adequate intellectual stimulation affect a large percentage of these families. The incidence of alcoholism and drug abuse is significantly higher among them, and their members are overrepresented in juvenile and adult court statistics.

An important factor that places Mexican-American children at risk is alienation. The specific characteristics of alienation were described nearly 20 years ago by Seaman in his now-classic paper: powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Experiences that foster alienation begin very early in the lives of Mexican-American children, often first occurring developmentally when they enter the major social system of the schools. After the sixth grade, Mexican-American children have a higher dropout rate than any other group in the Southwest. Only 60 per cent of those who enter first grade finish high school, as compared with 90 per cent of Anglo children.

Much of this problem is caused by the stereotyped expectations many in the educational system have for the performance of the Mexican-American child. Carter has shown how the educational system relies on a cultural-deprivation theory to explain its failure with such students; according to the theory, the fault lies with the socialization provided by the child's home and culture. The stereotype sees a typical Mexican-American child as someone living under negative conditions, a lazy and carefree individual who is passive-aggressive and satisfied with his subordinate role. The theory is thus used to explain the child's underfunctioning, his apparent disinterest in learning, and his low aspirations. Little can be found to verify this theory, however, through either scientific study or observation.

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* The *barrio* is not so much a geographic neighborhood as an intricate network of communications systems and subsystems which include, but are not limited to, the nuclear family and the extended family members. If there is to be viable mental health service for Mexican Americans, mental health providers must have the ability to become part of the network of the *barrio*.

When the Mexican-American child enters the school system, he has to cope with the attempts to acculturate him according to the Anglo Ideal. This creates new problems, which the Mexican-American child must deal with over and above those faced by other children as they enter school. Let us examine some of the problems thus created:

APATHY. The Mexican-American child is unable to find reward within the school; for him it often becomes merely a negative, punishing experience.

CULTURAL IDENTITY CONFLICT AND EXCLUSION. When he enters school, the Mexican-American child is faced with a middle-class Anglo value structure that may be different from what he has been taught at home. Subject matter, language, and customs are those of the primary ethnic group; if the child is to succeed in the larger group, he may be forced to reject his own heritage.

PEER-GROUP CONFLICT. The Mexican-American child will often use the peer group as a source of support and a buffer, particularly when confronted with value conflict between home and school. The psychologic purpose of these groups is usually not recognized by educators, who view them as a threat, especially when aggressive behavior occurs.

INCREASED RIGIDITY. Research has indicated that the most rigidly run schools are usually found in neighborhoods of the lower social class-- a situation of the exact opposite from the one that would be most likely to motivate the children. And in these neighborhoods the schools are often housed in the oldest buildings, with the poorest maintenance and little modern equipment or furnishings.

IMPERSONALITY. This increases in the school structure as the child progresses, in opposition to the Mexican-American tradition of relationships with others. One of our local educators recently said: "Through the sixth grade we teach the child; after that we teach the subject."

IPSO FACTO DISCRIMINATION. This is evident in the "acceptable" but disguised forms of grade retention, ability grouping, and placement in classes for the mentally retarded if the child scores low enough in an IQ test (which is usually culturally biased). And it is small wonder that many of the children score poorly in such tests when they start school; Spanish is often the language spoken in the home, so that as he begins school the Mexican-American child has a poor comprehension of English.*

While we make much of the strength and support that come from membership in the extended family, it is well to remember--particularly in a discussion about treatment--that the many parent surrogates make consistency towards the child much harder to achieve. Here is an example:

José, age eight, was brought to the clinic by his parents because he refused to go to school. When they tried to force him to go, he became upset and tearful. Considerable time and energy were spent in attempting to convince the parents that they should be firm and prepare José to try school once more. On D-Day, as his mother was taking him to school, José broke away from her and ran crying to his grandmother's house next door. She hugged him and said, "It's all right. I won't let them make you go to school when you feel bad."

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* One of our colleagues, whose primary language was Spanish and who now holds a doctorate, was placed in a special education class as a child.

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We believe the consensus of opinion supports the proposition that Mexican Americans' need for mental health services is at least as great as that of the general population. But the quality of services available to them, as well as the availability of those services, is relatively deficient. This helps to explain poor utilization.

Outpatient mental health clinics are more often located in the middle-class neighborhoods of the larger cities, because that is where local financial support is generated. This tends to make the service appear foreign and unfriendly, adding another dimension to alienation. Even if a community mental health center is located in a *barrio*, the Mexican American may be suspicious of its true intentions because of the bad experiences he has previously had with other social agencies. Many such families, for example, have one or more illegal aliens among their members; fear of apprehension and deportation adds to their anxiety and makes them even more reluctant to seek help. The Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service recently quoted a study by an outside consulting firm estimating that five million Mexican aliens are illegally living in the United States, and their number is increasing by more than 500,000 each year.

An equally important but less well-understood aspect of the quality of service concerns the large numbers of bilingual persons in the Mexican-American community. In order for services to be relevant to needs, it is essential that centers be staffed with bilingual and bicultural professionals. Anyone can understand that if large numbers of non-English-speaking persons apply, they will receive almost no valuable service if no therapist in the clinic speaks Spanish. Use of an interpreter allows communication of information but not much therapy. A more subtle need dictates that every effort must be made to fulfill a patient's request for a Spanish-speaking therapist. Even though they may speak English, many bilingual patients who are in distress and seeking help for the first time feel more comfortable discussing their problems in their native tongue. They can be more expressive if they have the freedom to move back and forth between English and Spanish.* The problem is further highlighted by recent findings that Mexican-American patients, when interviewed in both Spanish and English, were diagnosed as evidencing more psychopathology in the English-language interview.

An unfortunate remedy, and a common practice at mental health centers, is to employ an indigenous worker to provide counseling (psychotherapy) to Spanish-speaking patients.

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* A colleague who grew up speaking Spanish was having coffee with one of the authors and expressed his concern that his five-year-old daughter, who had recently begun school, had started stuttering. The author asked if the parents spoke Spanish and English to her at home and suggested that they speak to her only in English for a while. The colleague replied with feeling, "How can I express my love to my child in English?"

While the role of the indigenous workers is extremely important in providing a comprehensive service, this role should not be that of psychotherapist, for which they have been neither trained nor educated. Yet they are employed and assigned to do this, on the basis of the myth that their familiarity with the language and culture qualifies them to provide treatment. When we use the indigenous worker as a psychotherapist, we are setting up a system whereby middle-class and English-speaking patients get first-class therapists and non-English-speaking patients get second-class therapists. The myth of quality care for everyone is perpetuated through continuing interpretation of the role of the indigenous worker as one who should provide treatment to "his own people." This practice also minimizes efforts on the part of agencies and educational institutions to recruit bilingual and bicultural professional staff members and graduate students.

The great value of the indigenous worker is in providing essential social services to the client concurrent with the psychologic help given by the therapist. Both are important to mental health. As the indigenous worker is not expert at diagnosing and treating emotional problems, neither is the psychotherapist expert at guiding a client through the bureaucracy of the welfare system, to help him get food for his hungry children, or at assisting a client who is both phobic and in cardiac failure to work his way into the health-care delivery system. This is the special expertise that comes to the indigenous workers from their experiences and learning.

Karno, who has investigated reasons for the underutilization of mental health services by Mexican Americans, believes that there is a relationship between therapeutic failures and a set of factors that operate "to make ethnic patients (regardless of socio-economic status) less acceptable and/or accepting of psychiatric clinics." The Mexican American's "relative passivity, deference, and polite, inhibited silence are poor equipment" for successful engagement in psychotherapy. These speculations, however, are not based on extensive research findings. A similar stereotype has been applied to the blue-collar worker. Some literature "reflects a person afraid of therapy, pessimistic and passive. He wants to be told what to do and expects a magical overnight cure."

Such labels are not universally applicable either to the working class or to Mexican Americans. In fact, by virtue of limited education and other cultural factors, many such people may be considered excellent candidates for psychotherapy because they are less likely to intellectualize or rationalize and may be more ready to utilize insight. Nevertheless, numerous studies have shown that upper-class patients receive more intensive "insight-producing" therapy and are more likely to be considered "improved" on discharge than their lower-class counterparts. We are not suggesting that all Mexican Americans will profit from insight therapy, or that this is what they are asking for in the way of help. We are protesting the stereotype and asking that the various modalities of treatment be made available.

While cultural stereotypes are better ignored, the cultural context of a patient's life cannot be ignored if one is to arrive at a meaningful diagnosis and plan of treatment. A number of cultural factors affect utilization and expectations as well as treatment. One of these is language, as discussed above. Without shared language there is little communication, and without shared communication there is little therapy.

A cultural factor of importance has to do with the helth model versus the spiritual model. Training of both psychiatrists and nonmedical professionals follows the health model. A spiritual model may also be used, however, to explain insanity, neurosis, or even "bad" behavior. Some Mexican Americans believe in this model and look for a *curandero* (folk healer) to cure their "hex," rather than a therapist to treat their emotional disturbance. Sometimes the choice is to return across the border for treatment by a trusted folk healer.

Further, Mexican Americans traditionally believe that they have little or no control over physical processes; therefore, it is culturally more acceptable to experience somatic disorders than psychologic symptoms. Women, however, also tend to express worry, disappointment, and nervousness, at the same time receiving cultural approval because these feelings are seen as appropriate to the feminine role.

It is important that a therapist be aware of the cultural expectations held by Mexican-American patients facing an initial therapeutic encounter. If their expectations of what will take place are incongrous with those of the therapist, a mutual misunderstanding will result and will often lead to cessation of treatment. In an initial therapy session, a Mexican-American man may expect to receive medication for his symptoms, while a woman in the same situation may expect to receive sympathy for her "nervousness."

A 33-year-old woman sought help from the clinic because of inordinate fears concerning poor self-control. In presenting her problem, she viewed it as being related to *los nervios*, which in literal translation is "nerves" and has, as in English, a dual interpretation. She envisioned her problem as being related to anxiety and depression, not to a neurologic reaction. However, she perceived that the therapist, who understood a little Spanish, viewed *los nervios* as a physical dysfunction. Because of the therapist's misinterpretation, she chose not to return for her second session.

On occasion, some members of the counseling professions appear to engage in a waiting game, expecting the patient to initiate the interaction. The Mexican American may assume from this behavior that the professional or agency has nothing to offer, either because the counselor appears rather disinterested or because he seems to have no idea of what might be wrong. The expectations of the patient do not match those of the therapist, and a therapeutic alliance is not likely to develop. Expectations may also be different in the case of an "agency-wise" patient who has spent a lifetime learning how to manipulate the system. This is another instance in which an indigenous worker can be a valuable ally to the therapist.

In the Mexican-American culture, the primacy of the family over the individual is the rule. We see numerous Mexican-American women, anywhere between 18 and 45 years of age, who are torn by overwhelming conflict to meet their own needs and establish independent lives yet cannot leave home because of the immense burden of

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guilt they would suffer for rejecting their families. In terms of therapy, these women often benefit most from a group experience. They need the support of peers in order to handle the resulting guilt, and the group itself serves as a vehicle for the family transference that must be dealt with.

Related to this is the significance of the extended family. A young Mexican-American couple had marital difficulties that, upon exploration, seemed due to interference from the wife's parents. At first the therapist took the approach (though not directly stated) of encouraging the young couple to ask the in-laws to mind their own business. The next appointment was broken. Fortunately, the couple eventually returned and a different approach was taken that proved more successful; the in-laws were partly involved, but the couple themselves determined the extent of that involvement and offered additional time and support to each other.

Sex roles are clearly differentiated in the traditional Mexican-American culture. Men are expected to be forceful, strong, and unyielding--traits often summarized by the concept of *machismo*. Women, on the other hand, are expected to be submissive, nurturant, and self-sacrificing. Fabrega et al. found that Mexican men in psychiatric treatment evidenced primarily physical symptoms while avoiding the inference of "subjective vulnerability," because this might be interpreted as personal weakness by their cultural group. A number of treatment considerations follow from this.

The concept of *machismo* has probably never been well understood, as indicated by the overwhelming number of attempts to define it. Its primary meaning is in terms of the husband's decision-making role. The concept has been undergoing considerable change, and it has sometimes resulted in an added burden of prejudice towards the Mexican-American male.

A frequently occurring complaint is that of the Mexican-American wife who feels her husband is not supportive of her and the children and is uninvolved with them. She often fears that her husband has a mistress, even though there may be nothing to substantiate this. A companion complaint, perhaps from the same woman, is that she feels she is a nonentity and gains too little satisfaction from her primary role of wife and mother. A female therapist who considers it her function to "liberate" women and pushes the wife in this direction may create rather than alleviate problems. If clearly differentiated sex roles are accepted as desirable in the culture, too much deviance will obviously cause rejection. A therapist working with cultural mores different from his own must be particularly careful not to impose his views on the patient. Rather, he must try to help the patient achieve change to the degree that the patient seeks it but not to a degree that will cause alienation from the ethnic group. Divorce, for example, is much less acceptable in this group and is often not a sound alternative to marital stress. As a wife becomes more independent, she frequently creates anxiety for her husband. The therapist must help both to deal with their suspicions and anxieties as roles change even a little.

Of course, if the patient comes seeking help in achieving acculturation into a new group, the therapist will help the patient

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achieve his or her own goals, at the same time assuring that the patient is aware of what might be lost. Also, in treating the *agringado* (a Mexican American who has been acculturated to Anglo ways and has rejected much of his Mexican-American cultural heritage), the therapist must not try to reinstate the old cultural mores because of his own strong identification with or romantic attachment to Mexican-American traditions and values.

Machismo, when overdone, presents particular problems in parent counseling. A common family pattern is illustrated by the mother who complains that her children do not listen to her. However, they are very obedient to their father, who whips them severely if they do not pay heed. The children are really terrified of their father, and the therapist wishes to foster a more loving relationship between the father and his children. He counsels the father to ease up on the physical punishment so that the children will not be so frightened of him. This makes no sense to the father, however; from his point of view, his disciplinary technique works fine and gets results.

The concept of *respeto* is relevant to functioning both within the family and within the social structures outside the family. One of the authors, when first working with Mexican Americans, was immediately struck with the politeness, model behavior, respect, and dignity of the youngsters. The nature of *respeto* was vividly demonstrated when the author later learned that these children were members of a group that have been breaking school windows at night.

An example of *respeto* within the family is the adolescent who never manifests any rebellious behavior at home. To the uninitiated therapist, this youngster might appear to be overly conforming; but within the cultural context of his development, his behavior is perfectly normal. He finds avenues outside the family to express his normal adolescent rebelliousness. Another example is the depressed young child who seems to be internalizing hostility towards a parent. A disservice would be done if a therapist encouraged the child to express anger directly, as such expression might result in further guilt and rejection. If a Mexican-American child readily expresses anger towards a parent, more often than not one can correctly hypothesize that an extremely destructive relationship exists between the parent and the child.

Some observations can also be made regarding different emphases in patterns of child rearing. In some ways the family is child-centered during the child's early years. One sometimes hears accusations that Mexican-American families spoil their children.

Cooperation between the children is stressed, and this may result in less sibling rivalry. Often the older child is expected to protect the young children away from home. Sibling status is more clearly defined by age. An older sister, for example, will be expected to function as a surrogate mother rather than get an apartment with roommates when she begins college or gets a job. An older brother may function as a surrogate father and will contribute to the support of the family until he is married. Adolescent children are treated in accord with the roles they are expected to assume: the female is expected to be more home-bound and family-centered, while the male is typically allowed greater freedom and can spend more time away from home. Adolescent children are often considered grown-up and assume responsibility much earlier than is the case in middle-class Anglo families. In spite of this, they are expected to maintain close ties with the family. A frequent mistake in therapy with these youngsters is to treat them as adolescents when they think of themselves and indeed function as young adults.

Another treatment-relevant concept is that of *personalismo*. This refers to desired and special qualities personified by the effective therapist: warmth, friendliness, caring, and sensitivity to Mexican-American people. The attitudes that these qualities embody require flexibility to leave the "ivory tower" and make home visits and the ability to communicate at different levels, including comfort with the common language of the *barrio*. Closely related to this is the importance of tact and not speaking in a direct, rough, or brief manner. The relationship must be experienced as constructive, particularly in view of the value that Mexican Americans place on positive interpersonal relationships.

One should also be aware of the attitude about touching, which is quite different from that taught to most therapists. A Mexican-American man, for example, may not only offer a handshake to another man but also pat him on the back. This may well be a signal that things have gone well during a session and the person feels helped, is grateful, and will return.

Institutional practices that tend towards impersonality will have negative effects. These include long waiting periods, geographic isolation, language barriers, and general lack of understanding of cultural differences. For example, the need to fill out long and extensive intake forms can be considered quite condescending and irrelevant--particularly if the person cannot understand the forms.

In summary, we would like to emphasize the general issues that influence the effectiveness of therapeutic intervention with Mexican-American families:

1. The Mexican-American population has been underrepresented in mental health facilities because of underutilization of services.

2. This group may actually be at high risk, particularly because of alienation and some aspects of the dominant culture that foster lack of utilization.

3. Sensitivity to cultural differences is essential for effective therapeutic intervention; factors having special relevance include the primacy of the family over the individual, the role of the family, more clearly defined sex roles, the importance of respect towards authority, and different emphases on child rea rearing.

4. The positive qualities of the interpersonal relationship have central influence in therapy, as does compatibility of expectations between patient and therapist.

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ALCOHOL & DRUG USE AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN YOUTH ON RESERVATIONS: A GROWING CRISIS

by

Leonard Pinto

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ALCHOHOL AND DRUG USE AMONG NATIVE AMERICAN YOUTH ON RESERVATIONS:

A GROWING CRISIS

> Friends it has been our misfortune to welcome the white man. We have been deceived. He brought with him shining things that pleased our eyes; he brought weapons more effective than our own. Above all he brought the spirit-water that made one forget old age, weakness and sorrow. But I wish to say to you that if you wish to possess these things for yourselves, you must begin anew and put away the wisdon of your fathers.
>
> Red Cloud

INTRODUCTION

Modest indeed, from the scientific perspective, are the data available on the drinking and drug habits of reservation based Indian youth. What is known however, inescapably leads one to the conclusion that, at a time when so many events compete for the title "a major national scandal," this situation, linked as it is to the highest suicide rate in the country and other indeces of social disorganization, has correctly been so labelled by Indian leaders who are doing something about it.

This monograph reviews research on drinking habits and drug use of Indian youth in the light of reservation-wide drinking patterns. It relates substance abuse to other aspects of Indian youth's life--low educational achievement, poor health, high rate of unemployment and delinquency--all those forces which make reservation life the harsh, demoralizing experience it is for so many youth and older Native Americans. This report also reviews the relationship of social scientific thinking to Indian reservation life and explores the question, "why has drinking become an institutionalized way of responding to white encroachments on Indian life?" Finally, it deals with the broader questions, "what are the cultural, psychological and socio-political factors which account for the continued failure of American society and particularly the federal government, through its various agencies, to respect Native Americans' rights and aid them in achieving independence?"

The discussion of adult drinking and causes of alcohol use on reservations is included in this report not only because there is a paucity of specific information on Indian *youth* substance abuse, but also because youthful drinking can only be understood within the broader context of adult drinking and as a function of a drinking milieu, created by the cultural and social conditions of contemporary Indian reservations.

Except where noted, this paper focuses on alcohol consumption, since there is a scarcity of information on drug use with anti-social or social disorganizational concomitants. Field observations among the Sioux suggest that glue sniffing and other forms of drug abuse do exist among youth living on an Indian reservation, but information on these practices is sparse. Field observations further suggest that drug abuse is a far less widespread behavior pattern than adolescent drinking. The ingestion of peyote on the other hand, tends to be linked to ritualistic activities, and does not seem to produce anti-social activity; some observers suggest it serves to reduce the use of alcohol.

While alcohol and drug abuse among young reservation based Indians can be fruitfully analyzed as a "social problem," this monograph attempts to place such substance abuse within a number of different perspectives; these include an historical perspective and also sociological frames of reference, i.e., to see heavy drinking as a cultural complex fulfilling function for the reservations social system as it presently exists and for the system of relationships that currently exists between many Indians and non-Indians, and for relations between reservations and non-Indian institutions such as the federal government.

It is a major thesis of this report that:

(1) Drinking behavior of reservation based Native Americans is a very effective means of taking "time out," and for many Indians this type of "time out" behavior becomes a way of life, at least until after middle age.

(2) Taking time out through drinking is linked to a whole set of behaviors labelled "social problems" by white and Indian society, such as dropping out of school, becoming or remaining unemployed or under-employed, breaking the law, getting arrested and committing suicide.

(3) The vast number of heavy drinking Indians take time out from a harsh, difficult, powerless and boring life which characterizes reservation existence.

(4) Taking time out by heavy drinking is supported and encouraged by:

(a) reservation wide patterns of interaction (i.e., group social drinking) which encourage and condone the behavior:

(b) American cultural, socio-political and social structures which affect the thinking and behavior of border town citizens and members of Congress and make it impossible for a less demoralizing life to exist on many reservations;

(c) bureaucratic organizations such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs or Indian Health Service, which benefit from dependent and/or recalcitrant clients while these institutions do not possess the ability to change the basic life chances of the client population;

(d) social psychological factors, (such as drinking as a form of protest, drinking as coping behavior or as a way of validating one's Indianness) which may be characterized by subtle nuances, which social scientists have indefatigably explored often to the detriment of Native Americans

DRINKING AND OTHER SOCIAL BURDENS

One of the most valuable pieces of work done on Indian social disorganization is "Questions Regarding American Indian Criminality," by Omer Stewart. By using the Federal Bureau of Investigation *Uniform Crime Report--1960*, Stewart (1964) shows that the Indian population is far more likely to be arrested than members of any other ethnic group and that three-fourths of their arrests are alcohol related. (See Table 1.)

The fact that the Indian rate is almost three times the rate of Negro arrests which is significantly higher than white arrests highlights a stark reality: arrests linked to drinking is a pervasive aspect of contemporary Indian life today. If some commentators are correct in suggesting that in some tribes, such as the heavily populated Navajo, who account for much of this rate, middle aged men are more likely to be total abstainers than in white society, it is clear that arrests and drinking are virtually a universal experience for Indian male adolescents and young adults.

Stewart also reports findings for ethnic arrests in Denver which are no less dramatic. Table 2 illustrates the rate of Indian arrest, which is about ten times as great as the rates for all other groups.

Here fully 86% of all the arrests were alcohol-related. Stewart goes on to report that in the state of South Dakota, Native Americans account for more than one-third of the state penitentiary population, while comprising only five percent of its population. Thus, these arrests are not merely of that "drunk and disorderly" type.

A more recent work updates and replicates Stewart's research. Reason and Kuykendall, authors of *Race, Crime and Justice*, (1972) find Indian arrests to be eight times that of the black and twenty times that of whites. Graves suggests that "records inadequately convey the degree of alcohol involvement; more reliable data from other sources suggest that over 90% of Indian arrests are alcohol-related" (Graves, Undated). Graves goes on to present data which convincingly show that drinking arrests are not merely a function of differential police behavior but do reflect genuine differences in alcohol use among Indians and other minority groups.

Information on homicide and suicide among Native Americans corroborate this picture of Indian demoralization.

Ogden's findings on homocide are no less than alarming.

> Homocide reached new highs in 1967 for Indians and also for the general population. Thus, homicide death rates of Indians have consistently been about three times as high as rates for all races, and age adjusted rates have been 3.5 to 4.1 times as high. While Indian rates have fluctuated from year to year, U.S. rates have increased steadily, with a particularly large rise in 1967.

Again, Indian youth are more likely to be involved in homicidal behavior than are white youth between 1965 and 1967, the rate of homicides per 100,000 is 12.2 for 15 to 19-year-old Indians while it is 5.1 for 15 to 19-year-old whites (Ogden, et al., 1970).

While suicide rates among Indians and whites are similar, age-adjusted rates indicate that young Indians are far more likely to commit suicide than are white youths. (Older Indian people are *less* likely than older whites to commit suicide.) Havinghurst (1971) shows that these differences in youthful suicide rates cannot be explained by low socio-economic status (SES), since even when age adjusted suicide rates are compared with those of low SES non-Indians, Indian rates remain significantly higher. These findings are also corroborated by Ogden, et al., (1970). They report that in 1967, accidents are the cause of most Indian death (accidents that are often linked to drinking and probably suicide attempts) while homicide is the eighth leading cause of death among Indians and suicide is the tenth leading cause. Figure 1 reproduced from Ogden's work shows that Indian adolescent suicide is extra-ordinarily high, peaks about the age of 20 and drops significantly after age 45.

Finally, data available on Indian suicide strongly indicates that it is closely linked to drinking and particularly binge behavior. Prospective Indian suicides often have a history of heavy drinking or spree drinking before suicide is attempted (Shore, et al., 1972).

A review of the literature on drinking in specific tribes not only corroborates the relationship between drinking and homocide, arrests and incarceration, but also documents the relationship between heavy drinking and family disintegration (Ferguson, 1969), and poor job performance (Slater and Albrecht, 1972)--when jobs are available on or near the reservation. Off the reservation, drinking among women is linked to prostitution (Kuttner and Lorencz, 1970). Drinking is also linked to relocation failure (Graves, Undated). To document these virtually universal patterns would be pedantic (but as Vine Deloria would say, it would also show this ia a "pure" piece of research rather than an example of "applied" social science).

SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC VIEWS OF INDIAN DRINKING BEHAVIOR AND DRUG USE

Unfortunately, social scientific understanding of Indian drinking and drug usage depends upon our prior assumptions about general substance abuse. The conventional wisdom about alcoholism and drug abuse, however, furnishes a shaky foundation indeed for understanding substance use and abuse on reservations. Indeed, the idea that Indians, more than other groups, "can't hold their liquor," merely makes the conventional wisdom more pernicious when trying to understand Indian alcohol usage. The general conviction, often not supported by social science, that drug use is necessarily anti-social in character makes that question even more difficult to handle in the case of Indian ritualist ingestion of certain drugs. In spite of the paucity of available material, it is of value at least to review later within this paper some aspects of drug use and abuse that have been discussed in the literature.

THEY TALK, WE TALK....BUT THEY CONTINUE TO SUFFER

While it is great value to observe drinking behavior in order to understand it, social scientists have also listened to what Indian people have had to say about drinking, their own and that of fellow tribesmens. Listening to Indians' and Indian leaders' ideas about drinking has great value particularly because it is *their* culture and social order which is so closely tied to binge drinking, and much that can escape an outsider, even a sensitive one, can be articulated by a wise, insightful insider. Although the scope of this paper allows only a passing review of Indian comments on drinking, it should also be recalled that a number of Indian revival and reform movements have outlawed or stigmatized the use of liquors. These include the Ghost Dance religion, the Handsome Lake cult of the Iriquois and the Native American Church. Many Indian conversions to evangelical christian sects are also linked to a vow of abstinence. Furthermore, many tribes, given the option to ban or allow the sale and use of liquor on the reservation, have voted to ban its use. It is clear, therefore, that Indian people see drinking as a problem with which they should deal.

In a group consultation of Indian Leaders on Youth Problems on Indian Reservations many Indian leaders labelled alcoholism as the major problem of youth: Joseph L. Juancho, of the Tigua Indian community said, "as in some other tribes, alcoholism is one of our biggest problems." Joe Sando, chairman of the education committee of the All Indian Pueblo Council noted, "our biggest problem has been liquor with our youngsters (Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, 1970).

The Sioux Medicine Man, John (Fire) Lame Deer, author of *Lame Deer Seeker of Visions*, has some things to say about drinking. After describing a personal exploit of joy riding and drinking that would make the Great Gatsby seem dull in comparison, Lame Deer adds:

> I sometimes wonder what made me do it, going on my big tear. The nearest I can come to an answer is this: In the old days a man could win respect by his generosity, by his giving, but we had nothing left to give....
>
> Once a man had been honored for being a good hunter and provider, but there was nothing left for us to hunt anymore.... We had been warriors once, admired for our bravery. Now we were nothing....
>
> We didn't want to be nothing. We wanted to be somebody. I felt that I was only half a man, that all the old, honored, accepted ways for a young man to do something worthy were barred to me.... Well I had to invent a new way of making a name for myself.... Going on that joy ride was for me like going on the warpath, like counting coup.
>
> I was young and maybe this was a childish way of saying, "look, I'm a man. I exist. Take notice of my existence!".... It had made me feel like a man who was letting the world know of his manhood. It has made me feel that my living was a matter of some importance, that it had a purpose. This was worth going to jail for (Lame Deer, 1972).

In another part of his book Lame Deer deals with the question of Indian drinking generally. Why do Indians drink?

> You drink because you don't live; you just exist. That may be enough for some people; it's not enough for us (Lame Deer, 1972).

Of course, this is the same reason given by Deloria; and it elegantly sums up the best anthropological writing around. Admittedly it doesn't focus on certain subtle psychological dimensions, processes which have been variously characterized under what Vine Deloria describes as different social scientists' "battle cries" or "slogans" (Deloria, 1969). These slogans include "self-fulfilling prophecy," "labelling," "validating behavior" and "protest movement" and most recently "what you see is what you get."

Not only psychologists and anthropoligists, but Indians themselves, are aware of these social psychological dynamics. Lame Deer highlights some dimensions of this point of view:

> Before our white brothers came to civilize us we had no jails. Therefore we had no criminals. You can't have criminals without a jail. We had no locks or keys, and so we had no thieves.... We wanted to have things only in order to give them away. We had no money, and therefore a man's worth couldn't be measured by it. We had no written law, no attorneys or politicians, therefore we couldn't cheat (Lame Deer, 1972).

This point was also made in a perceptive article by Hammer. The author not only points to the high rate of unemployment in conjunction with the lack of skills and work ethos among the Potawatomis, which made it impossible for them "to improve their status through participation in the economy of the white man," (a key explanation Deloria gives for the poverty and demoralization of Indians, generally) but adds, white men *expect* Indians to drink and Indians oblige (Hammer, 1965).

Lurie accepts the idea that Indians drink because white men (and they themselves) expect drunkenness; thus it "validates" their being Indian when they possess no other validation, but he sees the behavior in a different light:

> My hypothesis is that Indian drinking is an established means of asserting and validating Indianness and will be either a managed and culturally patterned recreational activity or else not engaged in at all in direct proportion to the availability of other effective means of validating Indians. Indian people (understood) the value of the negative stereotypes (drinking) as a form of communication and protest demonstration to register opposition and hold the line against what they do not want until they can get what they want (Lurie, 1971).

Furthermore, she argues not only does the Indian validate his Indianness by getting drunk; he goes along with white man's expectations to thwart white man's goals for him; he is also able to use drunkenness as an excuse for aggressive behavior (sometimes against white men themselves)--aggressiveness he wants to manifest because of his feelings of frustration, but aggressiveness he cannot manifest in a sober state without being mistaken for a white man. "The fact that Indian drinking distresses and disturbs whites and forces them to take notice may well explain why it can so easily become a form of protest...in Indian-white encounters and can even help restore credit where one's (Indianness)...is called into question" (Lurie, 1971). Finally, she argues that Indians are likely to use alcohol this way, "when they feel thwarted in achieving Indian rather than white goals or when their success as Indians or simple individuals apart from Indian-white comparisons is interpreted as success in achieving status as whites (Lurie, 1971).

Lurie's comments throw special light on the remarks made by Bergman in a speech on Peyotism: "we have seen many patients come through difficult crises with the help of this religion (The Native American Church) and it appears to me that for many Indian people threatened with identity diffusion it provides real help in seeing themselves not as people whose place and way in the world is gone, but as people whose way can be strong enough to change and meet new challenges. Peyotists themselves are proud in particular of the help the church has been to Indian people who have drinking problems" (Bergman, 1971).

Bergman goes on to cite the work of Levy and Kuntz wherein they report a positive correlation between membership in the Native American Church and alcoholism treatment success.

Deloria fries Lurie for an earlier statement of her thesis, but his own statements provide a curious support for her position and, if anything, extend some parts of it in describing the social effects of "nonsensical scholarly dribble."

> After World War II anthropologists came to call. They were horrified that the Indians didn't carry on their old customs such as dancing, feasts, and giveaways. In fact, the people did keep a substantial number of customs. But these customs had been transposed into church gatherings, participation in the county fair, and tribal celebrations, particularly fairs and rodeos.
>
> The people did Indian dances. BUT THEY DIDN'T DO THEM ALL THE TIME.
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> Suddenly the Sioux were presented with an authority figure who bemoaned the fact that whenever he visited the reservations the Sioux were not out dancing in the manner of their ancestors. In a real sense, they were not real.
>
> Today the summers are taken up with one great orgy of dancing and celebrating as each small community of Indians sponsors a weekend pow-wow for the people in the surrounding communities. Gone are the little gardens which used to provide fresh vegetables in the summer and canned goods in winter. Gone are the chickens which provided eggs and Sunday dinner. In the winter the situation becomes critical for families who spent the summer dancing. While the poverty programs have done much to counteract the

> situation, few Indians recognize that the condition was artificial from start to finish. The people were innocently led astray and even the anthropologists did not realize what had happened (Deloria 1969).

One could reject such an assertion by arguing that Indian people are just not that gullible. Lurie does that very thing in response to Deloria's assertion that Indian drinking was due to anthropologists telling Indian youth that they lived in two worlds and people in two worlds drank. ("If (Indians) were as susceptible to the influence of the opinions of outside authorities as Deloria suggests, we would have succeeded long since in talking them out of wanting to be Indians" (Lurie, 1971.) Given the fact that Deloria identifies poverty with social structural variables and attacks anthrobiologists for furnishing highly abstract theories about Indian culture which account for school dropout rates, and unemployment rates, Deloria's assertion is even more intriguing. Deloria seems to be saying that Indians are very aware of what non-Indian authorities are saying and take these statements seriously when: a) *they describe what it's like to be an Indian;* and b) *the actions involved require few sacrifices to be Indian.* Given Lurie's heavy emphasis on the need of Native Americans to validate their Indianness in the face of culture contact and as they more and more behave in ways which can be labelled "non-Indian," Deloria's thesis does not seem too far-fetched at all.

It seems that Deloria is making a central point when he points out that academic theorizing about causes of drinking behavior can have unanticipated negative consequences in reinforcing stereotypic behavior. Highly abstract explanations for drinking -- and indeed extensive specializations by researchers and theorists about the "Indian problem" -- have become a grievous assault to Indian people who want help from individuals who are at universities and who appear to have prestige and power in white society. What they seem to be getting instead are descriptions of how the anthropologists think the Indians act (or did act) and these descriptions are used by Indians themselves to reinforce stereotypic behavior patterns.

Rosenthal's discussion of anthropologists' relatively narrow use of the concept culture, and their tendency to focus on "old timers" and old ways rather than other things (Rosenthal, 1968) probably furnished Native Americans powerful non-verbal cues about what it meant to be a "real Indian" at least in the eyes of these educated outsiders. The selective recruitment of informants probably suggested that only some people could qualify as "real Indians." Social scientists can ignore these consequences of their behavior only if they are ignorant of the fact that their informants and other community members are as observant and intrigued by the social scientist's behavior as he is by theirs. The untold damage of this kind of naive value-free pure research can never be measured.

The extraordinary susceptibility of Indian youngsters to white stereotypes of "the average Indian" is reported by Ted Graves in an excellent unpublished paper "Culture Change and Psychological Adjustment: The Case of the American Indian and Eskimo." In his discussion of Indian negative self-image, one of five problems acculturation may generage, he reports findings on Navajo and anglo youth self-image as obtained through Osgood's semantic-differential and judgment about the "average Indian" and the "average white man." Graves concludes, "it appears that whites form their concept of their own ethnic group by looking at themselves, whereas Navajos may form their conception of their own ethnic group by looking at white stereotypes (Graves, Undated).

The preceding comments highlight a genuine weakness of social science: It can become a form of Black Magic that focuses on the "conditioning" determinants of behavior without aiding individuals to discover how one becomes "de-conditioned." Thus, the statement of the conditioning process serves to reinforce it. The social scientists could, in the case of the American Indian, become the prophet whose predictions are self-fulfilling. Certainly Native Americans, whose view of the social order and the nature of the person are often quite different from the views of social scientists, would be least able to assimilate and use social science information. Reporting one's findings in books which are psychologically and culturally unavailable to Indian people reduces the social scientists to a spy for the elites of the larger society who run the reservations, or a careerist who merely uses his informants as a means to the next publication. Deloria has not failed to take note of this dimension of social scientific behavior. Indeed if correct, Deloria's assertion that not one scholar came to the aid of the Indians when the federal government was actively pursuing the policy of termination, suggests that at least as late as 1955 not only have social scientists' words given Indian people trouble but commitments to dominant white American values have also impaired their ability to help Native Americans (Deloria, 1969).

Emphasis on "culture conflict" as a cause of drinking may well be counter productive and diverse social-psychological explanations of drinking, although plausible, remain inconclusive given the type of data available at this time. Unfortunately, it appears that previous work of social scientists may have inadvertently added to the difficulties of Native Americans who seem to be extraordinarily responsive to other people's preceptions about genuine Indianness.

If Indians are as susceptible to outside ideas as it seems, social scientists may well be partly responsible for defining what it means to be Indian on various reservations today. This point is worth considering because other non-Indians--such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' officials, Senate Investigating Committees--who study juvenile delinquency on reservations, etc., also play a part in defining the "Indian problem," a part which may be highly prejudicial to the Indians themselves.

INDIAN DRUG USE

The little data that is available supports the position that ritualistic Peyote use is quite safe, that is, not linked to psychotic or other psychiatric episodes. In a work by Nathan B. Eddy, M.D., et al., the authors state:

> The mushrooms, cactus buttons (Peyote) and the morning glory seeds are used by certain American Indian tribes in religious ceremonies or are employed by medicine men or women of these tribes in treating illness, usually in a ritualistic fashion. Such religious and ritualistic use does not seem to lead frequently to drug dependence (Eddy, et al., 1965).

Furthermore, before the American Psychiatric Association in 1971, one speaker reported that although he is responsible for the care of 125,000 Navajos and there is little reluctance to refer cases to the mental health center, "nevertheless we have seen almost no acute or chronic emotional disturbances arising from Peyote use" (Bergman, 1971). This finding is particularly striking since the speaker reports that approximately 200,000 Navajos are members of the Native American Church and there were 100,000 ingestions of Peyote per year; he estimates that there would be at worst a rate of approximately one bad reaction per 70,000 ingestions.

In accounting for such extraordinary findings, the author states,

> "the feelings made available in meetings are carefully channeled in ego strengthening directions. Some of the crucial factors in achieving this are a positive expectation held by the Peyotist, an emphasis on the real interpersonal world rather than the world within the individual, an emphasis on communion rather than withdrawal during the drug experience, an emphasis on adherence to the standards of society rather than on the feeling of impulses . . ." (Bergman, 1971).

A second dimension of drug usage, the extent to which Indian people and Indian youth become drug dependent on tranquilizers prescribed by physicians, is a serious problem about which there is little available data. Thus, authors of the article "Tranquilizer Control" report that in the Public Health Service Indian Hospital in Rapid City, South Dakota, which serves a community of 6,000 persons and receives about 18,000 visits per year, " a review of clinic charts showed that many patients were regularly receiving tranquilizer prescriptions for no apparent reason" (Kaufman, et al., 1972). While they report on a program of drug prescription reduction which yielded a 52% decrease in tranquilizing pills dispensed and a decrease of 33% in the total number of prescriptions written for these drugs, there is little knowledge of the rate of drug distribution in other similar facilities where staff are not alert to the dangers of inducing drug dependence. In fact, the authors' optimistic findings are not clearly linked to their own program since the benchmarks of drug prescribing were the months of January and February and the reported reduction in drug prescribing took place in May and June. (It is theoretically possible for drug prescription reductions to be linked to seasonal changes and not the program at all.) Of course, this particular type of drug abuse among Indian adolescents and adults is probably the most easily researched and should be a priority item of serious academic investigation.

INDIAN ALCOHOL USE

In an excellent monograph, Craig MacAndrew and Robert B. Edgerton (1969) expose the extraordinary weaknesses of the conventional wisdom about drinking. They admit that there is good reason to believe that alcohol has "deleterious effects upon our sensory motor capabilities," and that performance decrements we observe (in locomotive ability, motor coordination, visual acuity, etc.) are due to alcohol's toxic assault upon the operation of one or other functionally relevant internal body mechanisms" (MacAndrew and Edgerton, 1969). They also point out, however, that there is no basis for the assumption that neurological processes result in the drinkers' "loss of inhibitions," and therefore explain drinkers' "change for the worse." The authors astutely point to the gap between neurological responses and behavior patterns. Furthermore, they fully document the fact that not only individuals, but whole cultures indulge in excessive drinking, *i.e.*, drinking which results in the impairment of sensory motor capabilities -- but do not manifest loss of inhibition or changes for the worse. The authors show that these differences among cultures cannot be accounted for by different genetic structures of individuals living in the various societies studied. Finally, they show that changes for the worse take place in cultures which do not demand extensive repression of personal aggressive or sexual feelings, a pattern which could be expected if a loss of inhibitions accounted for changes for the worse, and also show that changes for the worse do take place in a society with relatively little repression of sexual feelings.

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Of course, the findings reported in the monograph should not be interpreted to mean that racial genetic differences cannot exist which account for different *physiological responses* among diverse racial types. (The concept of racial types is being used quite broadly here.) While no convincing data are available to contrast American Indian and other American "racial" types' physiological reaction to alcohol, such research may be of value. An interesting study *is* available which contrasts caucasoid with mongoloid adults and infants. Wolff, the author, concludes after studying responses of infants and adults to alcohol ingestion, that the mongoloid individuals, both infants and adults, were more likely to experience physiological changes than Caucasians (Wolff, 1972). Because infants were sampled, the authors were able to conclude that postnatal dietary factors and cultural variables could not account for the observed ethnic differences in automatic nervous system responsivity to alcohol. (This finding is particularly interesting given the commonly held opinion that Asiatic societies do not manifest extreme changes for the worse after heavy drinking.)

In a provocative note on racial linkages to alcoholism, Charles Lieber reports the findings of Fenna, et al., that Eskimos and Indians who were administered ethanol experienced a far slower reduction of blood ethanol concentration that did whites. He also reports Fenna's finding that "Whereas the Indians showed a definite metabolic adaptation to alcohol ingestions, with a 50% higher rate of blood alcohol clearance in heavy drinkers than in light ones, there was no significant difference in the corresponding white groups." Wondering whether the greater capacity of metabolic adaptations (of Indians and Eskimos) could in some way be linked to heavy alcohol usage, he then postulates a hypothetical construct that would account for such an eventuality (Lieber, 1972).

Such findings do not undermine the major thesis of the monograph, *Drunken Comportment:* how one behaves under the influence of alcohol is a culturally determined not a physiological fact. But if research like Wolff's were to turn up Indian/non-Indian differences in physiological response to alcohol, it would support the thesis that Indians and non-Indians *experience* drinking differently for biological reasons, as is suggested by Fenna's findings, and this could be significant sociologically.

MacAndrew and Edgerton assert correctly that Indians' changes-for-the-worse after the use of alcohol are neither a function of genetic structure nor are they inevitably a function of Indian cultures which necessarily associate drinking with changes for the worse. Indeed they point to a number of Indian tribes which were not introduced to alcohol by the white man, but had institutionalized the drinking of alcoholic beverages in earlier, calmer and less strain-filled

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times. Changes for the worse were not associated with drinking by these American Indian tribes at all. The Papago are a case in point. But as MacAndrew and Edgerton point out, white traders not only introduced alcohol as a trading item, even forcing it on reluctant Indians initially, because unlike other white man's goods it would create and insatiable market, but the traders also gave Indian people ample examples of alcohol producing a change for the worse in the white man himself.

Where European introduction of alcohol was not linked to the profit motive and the economic structure of the tribes remained intact, as among the Pueblo, excessive drinking and changes for the worse were not reported to occur. Indeed, the authors note that such behavior could even be blamed on the outsider who provided the alcohol in the first place, and who, often using a double standard, condemed the Indian for his "savage" behavior when under the influence of liquor. By and large, therefore, the authors of *Drunken Comportment* explain Indian use of drunkenness as justifying time out generally and changes for the worse specifically as culturally patterned behavior learned from white men.

CAUSES OF INITIAL AND CONTINUING INDIAN RESPONSE TO ALCOHOL

While MacAndrew and Edgerton present a natural history of the white man's introduction of alcohol and drunken behavior to Indians, they do not account for the acceptance of alcohol and these particular behavior patterns by the Indians except in passing; and unless the social scientist is willing to settle for the idea that this acceptance was due merely to the physical pleasure alcohol furnished, a position the authors explicitly reject, he must detail the reasons Indians used alcohol and what *they* got out of defining drunkenness as did the whites. This is particularly true since drunkenness usually appears to be so widespread only a short time after the introduction by whites.

Finally, since drunkenness has become institutionalized as a cultural pattern, most anthropologists have felt the need to explain the persistence of this culture complex over time.

The functions of drunkenness are discussed by the authors obliquely as well as explicitly; it is implied that *time out* behavior is fun. Furthermore, the use of alcohol allows the Indian to blame the self-styled morally superior white man for the acts Indians performed while drunk. On a more mundane level drunkenness was used as a cover for the execution of guilty parties or enemies or for committing other acts whites (or fellow Indians) defined as criminal. Feigning drunkenness, also learned from the whites, accomplished the aforementioned ends, along with furnishing a trading advantage, and was indulged in by Indian people from early times. It was also suggested by the authors that, "time out" ceremonies, rituals, and behaviors can minimize the disruptive consequences of aggressive behavior for individuals. Also, to the extent that these behaviors are localized in time and space, one may cut down on their exercise. Thus, a function of contemporary tribally imposed prohibition against reservation drinking is to reduce the visibility of drunkenness on the reservation and to localize it as much as possible to reservation border towns, etc. The same can be said for individuals: by limiting their anti-social behavior to episodic "time out" experiences attached to drinking, the person does not have to consciuosly accept that particular way all the time, or define himself in terms of the anti-social acts.

While these insights are highly perceptive, they remain tangential to the major argument of *Drunken Comportment*. They appear, however, quite central to any understanding of drunken behavior in the early days of white-Indian contact and on the reservation today. Anthropologists generally have been aware of the fact that Indian people emulated the traders' drunken behavior for their own cultural reasons and these reasons have to be explored to understand Indian initial acceptance of alcohol if not contemporary drinking behavior. Indeed, Lurie has made the same point herself. She attempts to tie the development of drinking as a culture complex with a tentative assertion that "(The) core value (i.e., taking full responsibility for one's own actions, resourcefulness, open-handed generosity, and gracious acceptance of gifts) may have become demanding beyond their functional utility by the time of white contact, and thus drunkenness, in the form of disinhibited changes-for-the-worse, may have been seized upon...." "(as) (a) socially acceptable way around cherished traits without giving them up entirely, since they still served functional purposes." "Indian drunken time out....(apparently met) a felt need to reduce tension or perhaps replace existing methods whose nature is lost to history (such as witchcraft)" (Lurie, 1971).

Needless to say, the hypothesized deteriorization of traditional Indian values serves as a *deux ex machina* explanation of Indian acceptance of drunkenness as a disinhibitor which allowed fime out for changes-for-the-worse. Only a detailed study of the actual cultural conditions of the Indian tribes, or better still, detailed, historical description of where, when and how Indians drank, would furnish information on the question, "What are the causes of initial Indian responses to alcohol and Indian definitions of drunkenness?" Short of such information, two points deserve serious attention: regardless of Lurie's explanation of contemporary Indian drinking habits, she postulates that initially Indian drinking was an equilibrating mechanism in the face of cultural strain and a psychological response to the breakdown of traditional order.

To some extent then, Lurie, like MacAndrew and Edgerton, is basically asking the question, "Why can't (or couldn't) Indians hold their liquor as well as white men can?" This approach is highlighted in the concluding comments of the latter authors: "Since societies, like individuals, get the sorts of drunken comportment that they

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allow, they deserve what they get" (MacAndrew and Edgerton, 1969). Assuming that individuals *enjoy* time out, and even time out for changes-for-the-worse, it is not idle to reverse the question and ask the following question, "What is it about white society that inhibits whites from taking as much time out as Indians do?" This question has particular value since it highlights other unvoiced assumptions of the previously cited authors. Thus, the authors of *Drunken Comportment* argue that, if alcohol is a disinhibitor, it should be most effective in societies with excessive rules or taboos, and report with some satisfaction that not only is this *not* the case, but in some societies with *few* institutionalized inhibitions, drunken time out changes for the worse *are* found. They fail to see other implications: These societies are used to time out behavior and accept alcohol as one more relatively pleasant and efficient way of taking time out. While it is unnecessary to pursue this question here, a number of obvious implications suggest themselves for further exploration: What cultural commitments of Native American were consistent with time out behavior linked to drinking? What social control mechanisms were present which could cure drunken change-for-the-worse, and to what extent did cultural values militate against the institutionalization of effective social control mechanisms to curb drunkennes?

Descriptions of the life of many American Indian Tribes suggest that "time out" behavior was not at all out of the ordinary. A recent work by Jacobs quotes a passage written about 1760 about Indian life. It is probably an accurate description of life in many tribes:

> For the Indian when he finds himself possessed of his usual Clothing and provisions enough to satisfy his hunger, will pitch his Tent with his family and continue in it sleeping and smoking his pipe by turns, for whole days, and sometimes, even whole weeks together, in the most supine Indolence and inaction, and never leaves it to return to his Hunting till a fresh call of hunger obliges him to it (Jacobs, 1972).

It is clear then that that kind of moral constraints against time out behavior which non-Indian society possessed--albeit in weakened form on the frontier--did not exist among some Indian tribes.

This point is being raised because much of the literature on Indian drinking not only focuses on it as a problem--which it is--but because most of the more sophisticated anthropological "explanations," while they may indeed explain the behavior, rest on the rather ethnocentric implicit assumption that Indian drunken comportment and particularly changes-for-the-worse are more serious problems than white behavior and *therefore* must be explained. Obviously the confusion is based on an ethnocentrism which probably effects the "explanations" social scientists have furnished for Indian drinking patterns. When one accepts Indian drinking rates as a social problem but *not an academic problem per se, i.e.*, not more extraordinary than white drinking rates, the kinds of questions and explanations one is likely to pursue change radically. The focus of our study then becomes behavioral rather than broadly cultural. It is for this reason that the *behavioral* context of initial drinking patterns was suggested as a proper area of study, even from the perspective of the authors of *Drunken Comportment*.

Admittedly, while it is fruitful to explore the social context in which drunkenness was first integrated into Indian ways of life, it would be incorrect to assume that the initial institutionalization accounts for contemporary drinking patterns. In the past, social scientists have used relatively abstract statements about culture to explain contemporary drinking patterns.

Vine Deloria shows the limits of such abstract statements when talking about the deleterious effects of summer workshops run by academics:

> Let us take some specific examples. One workshop discussed the thesis that Indians were in a terrible crisis. They were, in the words of friendly anthro guides, BETWEEN TWO WORLDS. People between two worlds, the students were told, DRANK. For the anthropologists, it was a valid explanation of drinking on the reservation. For the young Indian, it was an authoritative definition of their role as Indians. Real Indians, they began to think, drank and their task was to become real Indians for only in that way could they recreate the glories of the past.
>
> So they DRANK.
>
> I lost some good friends who DRANK too much.
>
> Abstract theories create abstract action. Lumping together the variety of tribal problems and seeking the demonic principle at work which is destroying Indian people may be intellectually satisfying. But it does not change the real situation. By concentrating on great abstractions, anthropologists have unintentionally removed many young Indians from the world in which problems are solved to the lands of makebelieve (Deloria, 1969).

Anthropologists can also take the other extreme. Thus, M. Wax, drawing on statements by Omer Stewart, states:

> Simply put, there is a high incidence among Indians of binge drinking. The context of this drinking is the peer association of young men, frequently resulting in an encounter with the police that leads to jailing, or in drunken driving at high speeds, which can lead to disaster for the occupants of the vehicle.

> Given these sociocultural differences in the usage of alcohol, most attempts to "explain" drinking on the basis of individual psychology (e.g., people drink to escape from their problems) seem naive. In a fundamental sense, there is no more need to explain the use of alcohol than there is to explain the prevalence of sexual relationships, for the simple fact is that both are gratifying and pleasurable. What needs to be explained or understood are the ways people have evolved for curbing, disciplining, or ritualizing the consumption of alcohol (or the enjoyment of sexual relationships). Omer Stewart has argued that Western peoples have had a longer period of familiarity with both fermented beverages and distilled liquors, and therefore have had centuries, even millenia, in which to elaborate codes and rituals for handling them. Even so, these peoples remain dissatisfied with the consequences, and think of drinking as a social problem. The Indians of the Americas have had a briefer time to work out cultural responses to this novel and deadly challenge. Indians have the same problem in handling alcohol that is experienced by many other folk peoples, because they place positively high value on trance and vision states. Whereas a people with strong norms favoring disciplined rational conduct would be discomfited by the experiences of inebriation, these folk peoples give it a positive social reward (Wax, 1971).

Such a statement highlights important facts--drinking is fun and societies must develop social means of coping with drinking and drunkards. From this perspective it is plausible to argue that to the extent that time out behavior is not condemned in contemporary Indian societies, and to the extent that drinking bouts have become a rewarding type of social interaction, drunkenness and even severe drunkenness, need not be explained primarily as an example of individual coping behavior or escapist behavior at all, and that from this perspective the burden of proof rests on those who seek to relate drinking to assimilation conflicts and those who ferret out other functions drinking is supposed to serve the individual drunkard or his society. In effect what such a position suggests is that at this point drinking can best be studied within the context of everyday behaviors: friendship nets, proximity to border towns, availability of transportation and money, employment status, rather than relatively abstract statements about culture.

But this position has some severe limits *taken alone*. Thus, to say that friendship nets exist which encourage drinking does not necessarily obviate the *functions* drinking may perform for the individuals involved or the larger society. George Homans and David Schneider (1955) dealt with this question years ago in their work, *Marriage Authority and Final Causes*. Secondly, even if one were to accept drinking as "time out" behavior, this would not be the same as assuming it was inherently pleasurable. One would be confronted, therefore, with the question; time out behavior *from what* and time out *to do what?* These questions do not denigrate the importance of the "here and now" in understanding drinking behavior, they merely require that *all* aspects of the here and now must be taken into account to understand that behavior. Another way to see this, if one does not accept a kind of naive biologism--i.e., drinking is pleasurable--is to ask how come the institution of binge drinking caught on. Apparently some tribes did not buy it, at least not right away.

The case of Pueblo response to alcohol has already been noted. Furthermore, Devereaux (1948) points out that "there is no evidence to suggest that European or Mexican alcoholic bevereages played an important role in Mohave life during the period of Spanish contacts. Alcohol began to make appreciable inroads only during the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of an influx of White American who used alcohol in the economic and sexual exploitation of the Mohave."

It is quite possible that Mohave ethnocentrism served as a prophylactic against the diffusion of drinking, but this still highlights the fact that there is such a thing as drinking patterns and these *are* culture patterns that cannot merely be disregarded. Furthermore, even within those societies where binge behavior is not heavily sanctioned, some groups--older men, women, etc.--do not indulge as much as other groups.

Thus, it is still of value to see drinking within a cultural context and put drinking behavior within the broadest socio-economic and socio-political frame of reference. Nor is this task limited to seeing drinking merely as a function of the presence or absence of social control mechanisms which are meant to curb drinking. Of course as Wax points out, there is a value in outlining the place of binge behavior within the context of daily reservaton routines and interactions between Indians and non-Indians and the relationship between Indian and local (non-Indian) institutions. That very point was made earlier in this paper. But to see drinking from a complete perspective, social scientists must pursue two sets of questions: one socio-cultural, one social-psychological, "Do societies whose people go on binges, and those whose people do not, differ and how do these societies differ?" Within societies that allow binges, do some members abstain from this behavior? If so, who abstains and are there special times of abstinence? Conversely, among whom, when and where are binges most likely? Furthermore, since the focus of this paper is on youthful drinking behavior, questions of initiation into drinking patterns are also of major concern. A review of the literature furnishes some answers to these questions.

INTER-SOCIETAL DIFFERENCES IN DRINKING BEHAVIOR

The broadest question one can ask is: Are there characteristics which distinguish societies which allow heavy drinking or binge behavior and those which do not? The answer to this question is yes. Much excellent research by anthropologists has already been completed which suggests correlations between societal drinking patterns and particular types of oppressive physical environments and exploitative culture contacts the world over. An early and thorough article by Donald Horton, "The functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies: A Crosscultural Study" relates "subsistence insobriety in forty-three societies (Horton, 1943).

While it is beyond the scope of this work to pursue discussion of Horton's major thesis--that heavy use of alcohol is linked to "anxiety"--it should be noted, however, that Horton has no direct index of anxiety and that, outside of subsistence insecurity and (prejudicial) acculturation, other indices of "anxiety" such as sorcery and chronic warfare are not significantly linked to heavy insobriety.

In other words, not only does Horton not have a direct index of anxiety but factors which he assumes to be linked to anxiety--like chronic warfare and sorcery--are not statistically significantly related to havy insobriety. This suggests a more direct linkage of the two variable--subsistence insecurity and prejudicial acculturation--to heavy drinking.

Subsistence insecurity was defined as "occasional or recurrent famines due to drought, insect plagues and the like to threats of famine due to cattle plague, diminishing herds or impoverishment of the population for other reasons with consequent diminution of food supply, seasonal periods of starvation or food insecurity, or a diminished game supply." The findings are reported in Table 3 (Horton, 1943).

More telling is the fact, however, that Horton finds heavy insobriety among all the 13 societies in his sample which suffer subsistence insecurity *because* of detrimental culture contacts, i.e., "settlers encroaching on the land, driving away game or forcing the natives to less fertile soil, displacing whole populations to reservations, destroying native industries, and the like." It should be remembered, of course, that all Native American tribes experienced this type of subsistence threatening "acculturation" sooner or later. Indeed when acculturated and non-acculturated societies are contrasted by Horton, regardless of the subsistence insecurity, all acculturated societies indule in heavy insobriety and a statistically significant number of non-acculturated societies are likely not to indulge in strong insobriety (Horton, 1943).

These data do not allow one to determine whether extensive "culture contact" *itself* would cause heavy insobriety or just the prejudicial culture contact which generates "subsistence insecurity," since in Horton's sample there are *no* societies whose acculturation did not bring about "subsistence insecurity" as he defined it.

As noted earlier, however, evidence indicates that among Indian societies whose culture remains intact, drinking remains effectively controlled by aboriginal institutions and techniques. The Papago and Pueblo are cases in point.

> The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona are perhaps the best examples of such groups. These Indians have not been severely deprived socially and economically. The social and religious organizational aspects of their culture are still intact, and their basic subsistence economy, farming, has not been seriously endangered by White contact. Thus, the old institutions and the anxiety-reducing techniques of the traditional culture are still operative and effective. These Indians have not as yet felt the need to substitute new institutional techniques either to sanction group drinking or to find new substitutes to counteract excessive drinking.
>
> Indeed, in a few Pueblo villages where excessive drinking has begun to exhibit itself in recent years, the drinking problems appear to be related directly to a breakdown of old institutions and social control techniques. As these Indians become socially and culturally deprived, and anxious, they seek solace in drink. Since anxiety was traditionally lowered by institutionalized social interaction patterns, it is not surprising that drinking has become, as among the Klamath, a group activity. But drinking among the Pueblo has not reached the proportions found among other Indians (Dozier, 1966).

While this finding suggests that it is primarily prejudicial culture contact which is linked to heavy drinking, these data are not conclusive. The work of Dozier and Horton would have to be compared on matters such as criteria used for defining heavy drinking and subsistence insecurity, etc., if one wished to make a more conclusive statement, but these efforts lie beyond the scope of this paper.

While comparative cross cultural data are difficult to obtain some groups of Native Americans apparently are more hard hit than others and these differences may be addressed briefly herein. Thus, Hanlon reports the following information on Alaskan natives: "Deaths from alcoholism or alcoholic psychosis (are) 6.5 times as high as in the general population of the United States." He goes on to add:

> Alcoholism probably also plays a role in the extremely high accident rates among the Alaskan natives. Deaths per 100,000 population from accidents among persons over 25 years of age in 1966 were 58.0 for all races in the United States as compared with 236.5 for Alaskan natives. It is interesting that the discrepancy holds true for all kinds of accidents with the exception of falls. Undesirable behavioral and psychiatric reactions are also manifested by other types of violent deaths. Thus, age adjusted suicide rates are twice as high (21.8 vs 10.9 per 100,000) and age adjusted homicide rates are four times as high (22.5 vs 5.9 per 100,000) in Alaskan natives as in the general population of the United States (1966 rates). Emotional problems and behavioral disorders are especially frequent among the children and adolescents: this indicates a need for child guidance and counseling services which have been significantly extended during recent years (Hanlon, 1972).

This picture is somewhat different from the picture painted on the Navajo who, although they too suffer from some forms of social disorganization, have reduced rates of death through cirrhosis and seem better off than the Plains Indians and even their neighbors, the Hopi, not to mention Alaskan natives (Kumitz, et al., 1971).

Until adequate cross cultural data is available, however, one is left to conjecture. While it is plausible to suggest that Navajo and Pueblo indeces of social disorganization may well be lower than Alaskan or Plains Indian disorganization, and this may well be linked to the relative power the Navajo people may possess because of their population size, or the relative isolation which the Pueblos have been able to maintain. Horton's findings for *all* societies certainly suggest that Navajo and Pueblo Americans may also be better off than Plains Indian and Eskimos because their economies, although affected by the white invasion, were not destroyed by it. These statements must remain, however, in the realm of conjecture. They do highlight the fact, however, that certain indices of social disorganization, particularly unemployment or underemployment, or low per capita income, although they often reflect deep hardship--as they do among the Sioux--may not be taken as independent measures since the extent of continued traditional agricultural activity, craftsmanship, availability of traditional food supplies, etc., all of which *may* not be reflected in per capita income, are absolutely essential in interpreting the meaning of such information.

It is clear, however, that all societies which experience the kind of punishing acculturation to which most Native American tribes were subjected by Anglo-American invasion manifest "heavy" insobriety (Horton, 1943). While the social psychological relationship between heavy Indian drinking and settlers' encroachment on native land, relocation of natives on less fertile reservations, destruction of food sources and native industries have been discussed earlier in this paper, and much more could be said about it, it would be more fruitful to pursue the question; when has "acculturation" led to heavy drinking and when has it not, or more precisely, *for whom* has it led to heavy drinking and *for whom* has it not.

INCIDENCE OF ALCOHOL USE AND CORRELATES OF DRUNKENNESS

Three dimensions of youthful drinking worth exploring are the social behavioral context of drinking behavior itself; i.e., who, when, where, how much, and under what circumstances. A second goal to explore explicitly is the correlates of drinking, to the extent that data is available on this subject. (The relationship between drinking and criminal and suicide behavior has already been documented.) The third goal is to explore the total social milieu in which drinking plays such an important part. Of course, these dimensions of social life are focused upon because it is assumed that they will furnish information on why drinking has become an extensive and heavily used cultural pattern among many Indian youth, information which must be gathered if one is not merely to explain drinking within an inadequate psychological framework, such as "drinking alleviates anxiety," or an all too pervasive cultural context as "Indian youth experience culture conflict."

It would be naive to assume that all three questions would be answered exactly the same way on all reservations. Indeed, data presented above suggests the opposite: to the extent that reservations differ in important social, economic and cultural ways, to that extent the drinking patterns would also differ. Ideally, it would be best to contrast the life situations on various reservations and then to compare drinking patterns. Although the larges number of studies on Indian drinking focus on one or other tribe or reservation, it is not easy to use these different studies to collect the kind of information it would be necessary to collect if cross reservation comparisons were to be made and crucial linkages to heavy drinking isolated. As the report of the Indian Health Service Task Force on Alcoholism (1969) point out, the various research was pursued from different perspectives, with methodologies which differed in degree of rigor or sophistication, etc. and therefore, it is virtually impossible to make the needed inter tribal comparisons. Some generalizations made by the task force, after reviewing many of the studies reviewed for this paper, do throw some light on the questions raised earlier: on many reservations drinking is widespread and intoxication common; it appears most frequently in male peer groups, and men are more likely to drink heavily than are women. Peak drinking years are from late adolescence to the mid-forties, after which a noticeable decline in the number and extent of drinkers may be found, at least on many reservations. (Drinking and often heavy drinking still remains a part of the every day life of individuals over forty.)

By the age of 15, most youths have tried alcohol--often introduced to it by adults--and some are drinking frequently. Indians who reach middle age and women appear to be better off than young and middle-aged Indian men. Whether this is linked to the older person assuming the role of socializing agent of his or her grandchildren is a provocative hypothesis.

The relative advantage of women in societies which have experienced prejudicial culture contact was alluded to by Margaret Mead years ago and by many other anthropologists since that time. Women seem to have advantages over men on a number of counts: not only is the traditional female role under somewhat less attack than is the male role, especially among the Plains tribes, but women seem to be more likely to make up the stable work force in those few "modern" jobs that are available either with the federal government or private industry located on or near the reservation. (Extraction industries such as mining and logging are, of course, an exception to this generalization.) (Hammer, 1965). It remains to focus on the Indian adolescent's drinking patterns and social milieu.

ADOLESCENT DRINKING AND SOCIAL MILIEU

As Kuttner and Lorencz (1967) state: Indian drinking begins early, is excessive and constitutes as social, not a solitary, activity. As among adults, adolescent drinking is linked to criminality, suicide and other social problems such as truancy and dropping out of school.

Ethnographic studies of youthful drinking on Indian reservations exist for a number of tribes and they generally report the same patterns. Whittaker (1962) reliably reports drinking patterns among the Standing Rock Sioux: 82% of the males and 55% of the females in his sample drank (Sioux women were no more likely to drink than white women). Male youths begin drinking regularly at 15 years old; virtually all of them drink between the ages of 20 and 29. Among 15 to 17 year-olds, 60% of the boys and 40% of the girls drink. Some youngsters begin to drink as early as 9 years old. Whittaker reports that observers think that these self-reported rates are a low estimate. Among 17-year-olds, 88% had friends who drank. Apparently adolescent drinking usually takes place away from the home where it is forbidden.

In a later article the same author reported the psychodynamic and cultural factors he linked to drinking: younger drinkers, both Indian and white, more often reported drinking for social reasons rather than individual ones (although fully 25% of his sample could give no reason (Whittaker, 1963).

The widespread use of alcohol among the Mescalero Apache was reported by Curley (1967), who goes on to describes adolescent patterns at some length:

"Adolescents begin to drink in earnest some time between the ages of 13 and 16, girls somewhat later than boys. Most boys who are questioned stated that they had consumed beer by their eleventh year..." (Curley, 1967). Furthermore, adolescent drinking is a gang behavior and it serves as the basis for other activities such as sports and sexual exploits.

A piece of research on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Oglala Sioux done through the Indian Health Service by Eileen Maynard (1960) also reports on adolescent drinking. Maynard reported that 80% of reservation Indian students still in school claimed they had drunk alsoholic beverages; 37% said they drank frequently.

Again, adolescent drinking at Pine Ridge is a group reinforced behavior, with older young adults making drink available and other adults assuming that a person should take care of himself, and therefore not intervening. When Oglala students were asked what drinking does to them, Indian students reported very happy (30%), dizzy (15%), and talkative (13%), and as one would expect, the youngsters reflected general normative expectations: 64% of them said that it was "okay" for men to drink but only 18% said it was "okay" for women.

Adolescent drinking is linked not only to suicide but to delinquency and high rate of dropping out of school. The U.S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency published a report "Juvenile Delinquency Among Indians" (1956). Although they found that hard data was spotty on the question, the report does show that adolescent drinking is closely linked to delinquency. On the San Carlos Reservation, with a population of 4,000, there were 500 cases of adults charged with some kind of liquor violation (out of a total of 743 cases tried in the tribal courts) and of the 76 cases against adolescents, 61 were related to liquor. Among the Papago, there were 33 cases brought before the Juvenile Court (District) of which the largest number of cases were charges of drinking and fighting.

Youthful drinking also produces problems for students still enrolled in school. The Jacarilla Apache Indian Reservation, with a population of 1,110 reported problem behavior at the boarding and day schools. In 1953, 21 out of 30 problems were cases of student intoxication, and in 1954, 27 of the 59 incidents were cases of student intoxication (Committee on the Judiciary, 1956).

Wax, who studied the Oglala Community School--the boarding school at Pine Ridge--also reported (1967) that students get into trouble with authorities for going to White Clay to buy alcoholic beverages.

Of course, adolescent drinking should not be assumed to be a "cause" of delinquency. It would probably be more accurate to see it as part of a syndrome of behavior which is imbedded in a broader social milieu that breeds both delinquency and drinking. Thus, the Senate

Subcommittee investigation found that the major contributing factors to delinquency among Indian children are:

> poverty and poor living conditions, lack of effective law and order, disorganized, weak and broken family life, poor education programs, and the difficulties in making the transition from an old to a new culture... other leading factors...are the poor health conditions, inadequate welfare services, lack of local leadership and community action on Indian Reservations (Committee on the Judiciary, 1956).

While the absence of jobs for youths and adults was ignored in this list of problems, one of the recommendations of the subcommittee, along with relocation, was the enactment of direct loans to Indians to enable them to secure the capital needed for farming and ranching enterprises. (This latter recommendation was not implemented.)

The fact is, then that adolescents are not exempt from the kind of disorganization which the reservation populations feel generally. Indeed, that is reason to believe that reservation based Indian adolescents experience problems which middle aged Indians have resolved, and these problems revolve primarily around the educational and economic arrangements on the reservations, while other social dimensions, such as isolation, boredom, absence of anything to do or involve oneself in, exacerbate the problems endemic to reservation life.

INDIAN EDUCATION

American Indian education is a conglomeration of different school systems, different funding patterns and different philosophies. The thing that probably is *almost* universal is that whether it is a boarding or a day school, run by the BIA or integrated in the county school system and supported by Johnson-O'Malley funds, secular or religious, it is usually under the control of non-Indians and not doing as good a job as one could reasonably expect (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972).

Thus for instance, approximately 43% of Indian students do not graduate from high school. The BIA per-pupil cost is much higher than the nation wide average of $536 per pupil. As a result, Bureau officials have been forced to argue that this is not a fair comparison (Cahn, 1969).

Two very different kinds of research have been undertaken and have reported rather dismal findings on Indian education. Based on Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Murray Wax studied the BIA schools intensively and reported his results in "Formal Education in an American Indian

Community (Wax, et al., 1964). A very different kind of research was done by Fuchs and Havinghurst, who later reported their findings in the book, *To Live On This Earth* (1972).

This latter work reviews Indian education nationally and also includes an historical perspective. It furnishes a global picture of American Indian education today. There are about 200,000 Indian students enrolled in schools. About 50,000 are in schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; 100,000 are in public schools which receive federal support (through Johnson-O'Malley funds, etc.). Another 40,000 are in other public schools, while 9,000 are in mission and other private schools. Approximately 20,000 are not attending school (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972).

Aside from three exceptions, the Rough Rock Demonstration School and Blackwater School in Arizona, and the Navajo High School of New Mexico, these schools are not under Indian Control, and 66% of those youngsters for whom the BIA assumes responsibility attend public schools at government expense. Approximately $20 million is allocated through P.L. 874 while a similar amount is furnished through Johnson-O'Malley funds. This amounts to about $400.00 per student, which is equal to the state's costs per child (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972).

Fuchs and Havinghurst document beyond doubt that Indian achievement is lower than the national average when tested on academic subjects (e.g., reading and math), and furnish data which suggest it is not a function of racial differences. Indeed, they report Voyat's findings, who using Piaget's work suggested that low L.Q. reported for Sioux was a function of the culture content of the examination itself since the Sioux were *not inferior* to whites as to their development of more fundamental concepts. The question becomes even more crucial when they report earlier findings of Havinghurst, also obtained at Pine Ridge, which showed that thirty youngsters had an I.Q. of 102.8 when first tested and one year later the same thirty Sioux had an average I.Q. of 82.5 (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972).

What accounts for this picture of widespread demoralization and educational failure on Indian reservations? Again, like other commentators, Fuchs and Havinghurst point to possible culture conflict. They argue that with few exceptions all schools view themselves as primarily teaching the dominant non-Indian culture and that while parents want the schools to impart skills so that their children can become part of the dominant economy, some resist total assimilation. Socio-economic status of families was also mentioned as a possible contributing factor to student failure in school. And in still another study done at Pine Ridge, Spilka stated that both Socio-economic status and other factors such as the ethnic and cultural situation of the Oglala Sioux must be taken into account for any genuine educational innovation (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972).

The fact that cultural differences may be important should not be hastily overlooked. But if they are important, they tend to be more subtle than one would suppose. Teffs (1967) reports research on Arapaho, Shoshone, and white teenagers living on or near the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. He found that while dominant value orientations of Arapaho, Shoshone and white teenagers are similar (as measured by a questionnaire), Arapaho show lowest agreement in value choices and feel unable to commit themselves to peer support values. The Arapaho are also said by the author to be more likely to be fullblood than the Shoshone, and the Shoshone have traditionally been perceived by the whites as an ally in war and friend of the white man. Indeed while over 80% of both Indian groups wanted a favorable evaluation by non-tribal members, only 9% of those Arapaho (wanting such an evaluation) while fully 75% of those Shoshone reported feeling they obtained it (Teffs, 1967). The author suggests that the differences of opinion found among the Arapaho may account for their high level of anomie since individuals in the group cannot rely on other group members to support the way they present themselves to out-group members. One cannot help but feel, however, that if the amount of white intermarriage within the two tribes varies significantly, cultural differences are bound to be important even if hard to assess; nor need one assume that they be on such high levels of meaning and value as are likely to be focused on by Kluckhohn and others (Teffs, 1967).

The extensive work of Wax on the Pine Ridge Reservation throws a great deal of light on the social and cultural dynamics of Sioux school failure and dropping out behavior; although it is impossible to generalize from his work, his findings offer suggestive hypotheses about Indian education in general.

Wax and his co-workers paint a picture of peer group culture in the schools which serves as a major impediment to education. The peer group uses some borrowed values--often distorted by exaggeration--as a basis for invidious comparisons and teasing of outsiders. Children refuse, therefore, to go to school if they do not have the proper clothes. But more generally the peer group and the youngster's place in it determines "whether or not he is happy and willing to attend, what he learns, and whether or not he dares to recite in class (Wax, et al., 1964). Rosalie Wax (1967) elaborates on this peer culture further in an article "The Warrior Dropouts."

Rosalie Wax describes Sioux child rearing practices which encourage boys to be physically reckless and impetuous. "Sioux boys are reared to be proud and feisty and are expected to resent public censure." And again--"By the time he has finished the eighth grade, the country Indian boy has many fine qualities; zest for life, curiosity, pride, physical courage, sensibility to human relationship....But (he) is... lacking in the traits most highly valued by the school authorities: a narrow and absolute respect for "regulations," "government property," routine, discipline, and diligence." Of course, the Wax's work focuses on other anomalies of Indian education at Pine Ridge; the total isolation of teachers from students and parents alike, the tendency for teachers and administrators to see students as coming to them for a cultural vacuum (due to an inadequate home life), and the tendency for parents to withdraw (and allow their children to withdraw) from an unsatisfactory educational situation in the school (Wax, 1967). This pattern of non-accommodation is particularly unfortunate since it appears to Wax and to the writer that "apparently some country Indian families have become convinced that their corporate wellbeing and prestige within the local community depend on getting at least some of the children through high school (and college if possible) and thus into better paying tribal and Bureau jobs (Wax and Wax, 1968).

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to pursue the question of employment and unemployment of Native Americans, it is essential to recount the fact that the unemployment rates among Indians are far worse today than was white unemployment at the height of the depression. On many reservations, furthermore, the federal government is a major if not the major employer. Maynard reports for instance that 54% of the employed Indians on Pine Ridge Reservation are federal employees (in contrast to 37% of the non-Indians). She also pointed out that 46% of the employed Indians fell into the lowest occupational categories, using Warner's Occupational Status Scale, as compared with 14% of the non-Indians at Pine Ridge. This kind of economic plight is not different from the plight of the Nez Perces reported by Dewart Walker (1968), and the Apache. Unemployment statistics for the Navajo are equally grim, ranging from 60% to 70% (Bathke and Bathke, 1967): Thus, education, which white middle class youngsters can associate with respectable, productive adult jobs, does not mean the same thing to Indian youngsters who often are confronted by whites in high paying, high status jobs and Indians considering themselves lucky if they are bus drivers or janitors in the BIA schools. It is within this context that one can rightly ask, "Education for what?" Indeed, the Indian's faith in education--when there are so few reservation jobs available--may seem unrealistic except that since many youngsters drop out, there is hope for the economic success of those who stick it out.

Some social scientists have argued, therefore, that Indian youth's experience of education does not radically diverge from the experience of lower class youth in urban settings, except for the major difference of Indian isolation and the paucity of jobs on or near the reservations. Whether or not this is true, however, remains to be seen. Certainly the peer group culture of the Sioux does not seem to prepare one for a nine to five job Monday through Friday any more than it prepares one for success in school, and the pattern of gang drinking (which is closely associated with peer group life), which reflects and leads into young adult drinking, merely makes the transition to a regular job that much more improbable.

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One must be quick to add, however, that not all youngsters on the Pine Ridge Reservation conform to the "country Indian" pattern described above, and that youngsters in other tribes cannot be assumed to reflect the same kinds of peer group commitments as the Sioux country youngster. It is reasonable to suggest, however, that in school settings in which the teachers and administrators automatically assume that youngsters come from a background which is at best a vacuum and more probably hostile to the goals of traditional white middle class education, similar isolation of students and teachers is likely to result.

DRINKING, RESERVATIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The preceding analysis has sought to integrate the problem of heavy drinking among adults and youths on Indian reservations into a broader picture of reservation life. The vast number of Indians living on reservations exist in harsh physical and social surroundings. Drunkenness is a highly visible and all but universal pattern of behavior among young men. Unlike their white brothers, many more Indians end their lives prematurely by accidents, suicides and homicides. For those who remain, the irrelevance of white education, the absence of jobs and where there are jobs the absence of skills or capital to create jobs, makes life a dull, meaningless treadmill indeed. Conversely, drinking in groups is a major pleasurable pastime. It may serve the drinker merely as time out behavior; it may reinforce his status as an Indian in his own eyes, or allow him to conform to white stereotypes of the drunken Indian; or it might allow him to grasp some vision of power which Indians no longer possess in the real, sober reservation world. Whatever the social psychological explanations, drinking is a social problem for Indian people and it is linked to many behaviors they deplore but tolerate, given their great respect for individual autonomy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that two anthropologists, one who studied life on a reservation while the other studied Indians on relocation, concluded that the major need of Indians today is jobs, and jobs close to or on the reservations (Graves and Van Arsdale, 1965).

But the question of social change seems to be somewhat more complex partly because no matter what has been said or tried in the past, much on the reservations remains the same or has become worse than it was; indeed, Maynard suggests that the drinking syndrome may well be an adjustment to the joblessness and powerlessness which has been such a key part of reservation life, an adjustment which, no matter how tragic, keeps the Indian from reacting even more self-destructively to his intolerable situation (Maynard, 1969).

The fact is that Indian population growth is quite high. (Fuchs and Havinhurst report unpublished figures on birth rates from the U.S. Public Health Service for 1967; the Indian birth rate was 37.4 per 1,000 population while comparable U.S. figures for all races was 17.8. The population of the largest reservation, the Navajo, is 120,000. Thus, most Indian tribal groups are faced with an increasing population, and a shrinking land base; they also have neither the ability to consolidate the holdings of individual Indians so that they may farm or ranch, nor the necessary capital to invest for the implementation of such an agricultural enterprise. These problems merely exacerbate the fact that many reservations were initially located on low grade agricultural land.

The socio-political realities of Indian life leave little room for optimism. In the 1950's a concerted effort to relocate Indians to urban areas, a hardly successful program, was linked to termination of federal health, educational, welfare and law enforcement services on reservations, and the transferring of these responsibilities to the states. A concerted effort was made to replace the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational functions with integrated public schools on or near reservations, and Johnson-O'Malley and other federal funds were made available to this end. The extraordinary damage done by these policies cannot be over-estimated since Indians were quick to assume that if they exercised autonomy and self-determination, they could easily be making themselves prime targets for termination of a unique status they had with the Federal government, a status large numbers of reservation based Indians seek to retain. Indeed, it is alleged that some officials in the BIA have suggested that if a local community were to pursue its plans to assume responsibility for its own school--formerly under BIA control--termination would follow (Shorris, 1971). More serious is the assertion that while the government set up the Indian Claims Commission as a way of resolving the claims of Native Americans, some awards made by the Commission were made "with the injunction to the tribes to use the funds to prepare for termination (Josephy, 1969).

The present socio-political situation, though less grim, continues to erode confidence and make it virtually impossible for Indians to plan their futures intelligently. While Mr. Nixon has spoken against the policy of termination, the Congress has not acted to rescind its joint resolution supporting such a policy. Furthermore, although much of Mr. Nixon's speech, in keeping as it does with the thoughts of an earlier pioneer reformer, John Collier, does support the ideal of pluralistic self-determination for the tribes, little that has *happened* on the policy implementing level indicates that this policy will be vigorously pursued.

Efforts of the U.S. Senate to take some of the problems in hand also leave little reason to be sanguine. Senators Kennedy, Jackson and Montoya all introduced Indian education bills in 1971. While a number of controversies are addressed differentially by these bills, a major question in the minds of the lawmakers is, "who should administer Indian education--HEW or BIA?" Whatever the outcome of these controversies, reservation Indian leaders are essentially confronted with a level of ambiguity about the tribes' legal and juridical status which no other American community leader must handle. Elizabeth Colson points out in a paper on "Indian Reservations and the American Social System," that public policy toward Indian reservations is open to extreme shifts and this tenuousness and unpredictability of policy encourages factionalism so that there always remain some groups of Indians who would be free to go along with the next change (Colson, 1971).

The unique position of the Bureau of Indian Affairs cannot be ignored in understanding the barriers to changes Indians must overcome. Indeed, the introduction of the Office of Economic Opportunity on reservations, to some extent, introduced for the first time a separate development agency on reservations. Such a step cannot be over-valued since it is unrealistic to assume that an agency which is housed in the Department of the Interior and charged with the duty of protecting Indians, a duty which necessarily puts them in contact with Indians who need protecting, can also see the Indian as other than a ward and one who needs the agency's help. Not only do BIA personnel have trained incapacities for initiating autonomous Indian economic and educational behavior, but they also have vested interests which are at variance with such developments. This is not to suggest that the BIA staff has not performed many of its tasks nobly, it merely asserts that one agency cannot do everything. But the question of which branch of the government is to administer Indian economic and educational development on reservations is of secondary importance. Genuine changes are only likely to come about when powerful groups which influence the Congress and the Executive Branch support him. In the meantime, only changes within the limits of the *status quo* are possible.

PROGRAMS AND PRAGMATISM

Rosenthal suggests that anthropologists' emphasis on a simple idea of culture and culture breakdown "plays directly into the hands of politicians and administrators.... For with good will or evil, it is easy to argue that the cultural vacuums must be filled...and on this basis...justify an astonishing number of plans and programs" (Rosenthal, 1968).

It would be impossible to review all of these plans and programs, especially since all those which are studied universally work. Two programs on Indian drinking and suicide prevention are worthy of note. Suicide prevention had been in operation for some fourteen months when an article on the program was published. There were no suicides during that time, the longest period to transpire without a suicide (Ogden, et al., 1970).

The work of Ferguson also suggests that an alcohol prevention program can work, at least for non-assimilated Indian people who are not caught in the cross pressures of their own and of American culture (Ferguson, 1970). There is reason to believe that OEO interventions account for the experimental programs of Indian-controlled education (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972), and that interventions of the Department of Labor, to institute a New Careers program for Indian adults, and Action programs for Indian education on Indian reservations may be of some assistance in preparing Indian people to assume some BIA jobs presently being held by non-Indians (Hunter, 1973).

Richard Schifter, the legal representative of the Association on American Indian Affairs, has made a more striking proposal. He asserts that Indians uniformly approve of the now defunct Civilian Conservation Corps. He proposes the reintroduction of such a corps, in which Indians would engage in conservation work, the development of recreation facilities, and they could also serve as game wardens and in the National Park Service. He also believes that once an employment economy does exist, it would be easier to attract private businesses onto the reservation (Schifter).

Mr. Nixon's extraordinary and profound statements on pluralism and Indian self-determination suggest radical changes in the way white society will respond to the needs of Indian people. To implement such a policy the federal government cannot pursue *one* Indian policy or *one* Indian program but must become a partner with the several tribes and sub-tribal units to aid them in the pursuit of their goals. One of the first priorities of such an effort is turning over control of the educational systems to Indian groups which want it; such an act would be merely ceremonial if not accompanied by substantial support of parents and Indian-elected school board members so that they could fashion for their youngsters an educational program which is consonant with their communal values and their needs.

Table 1. Comparative Rates of Arrest of Various Ethnic Groups in the United States - 1960

	Rate Per 100,000 Pop.		
	Total Arrests	Alcohol Related	% Alcohol Related
Total Population	2,200	940	43%
White	1,700	780	47
Negro	5,900	2,000	33
Indian	15,000	11,000	76
Chinese-Japanese	1,000	270	24

Table 2. Comparative Rates of Arrest of Various Ethnic Groups in the City of Denver, Colorado - 1960

	Rate Per 100,000 Pop.		
	Total Arrests	Alcohol Related	% Alcohol Related
Total	5,300	2,700	51%
White	4,800	2,500	53
Negro	12,000	3,600	30
Indian	60,000	51,000	86

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Figure 1. Age Specific Suicide Rates for Indians 1965-67 and the U.S. All Races, 1966

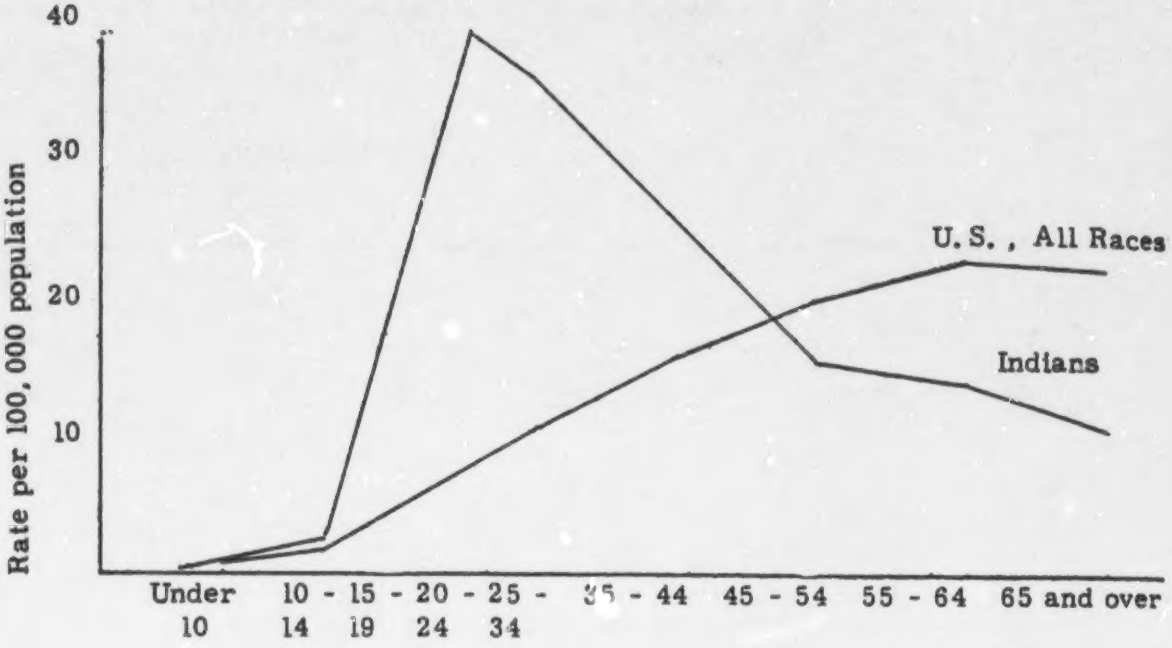

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Table 3. Association Between Subsistence Insecurity (Not Including Effects of Acculturation) and Insobriety

	Insobriety		
Subsistence Insecurity	Strong	Moderate and Slight	Totals
High	9	2	11
Moderate or Low	13	19	32
Totals	22	21	43

Table 4. Association Between Subsistence Insecurity (Including Effects of Acculturation) and Sobriety

	Insobriety		
Subsistence Insecurity	Strong	Moderate and Slight	Totals
High	22	2	24
Moderate to Low	13	19	32
Totals	35	21	56

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THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ADOLESCENT

by

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THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ADOLESCENT

It has been frequently noted that our conception of the characteristics and problems of those whom we define as disadvantaged shifted significantly during the 1960s. During that period the focus of our attention shifted from individualized to collective problems. The treatment of the disadvantaged became not the problem of delivering services to clients, but rather the change of structural conditions (inequality, poverty, etc.) in order to eliminate the "root cause" that manifests itself in individual problems. The culturally disadvantaged emerged during this period as a newly recognized category of citizens who were to be saved by the War on Poverty. In the area of the lower-class adolescent, these efforts were guided by a theoretical model of the causes of the problems facing this segment of the disadvantaged: the *theory of differential opportunity structures* (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Either directly or indirectly the War on Poverty for youth operated as if this model were an accurate presentation of the root causes. In this chapter, we shall draw upon the research and experience that have been directed by that model to assess its usefulness. We shall then offer a modified description of the disadvantaged youth that we think is more relevant to the understanding of the problems he faces and the problems we face in our interactions with him. Finally, we will attempt to identify what now appear to be crucial research issues in order to better understand the disadvantaged youth and the delivery of services related to moving the youth toward a less disadvantaged status.

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DIFFERENTIAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY: TEN YEARS LATER

The central element in differential opportunity structure theory is as follows:

> The disparity between what lower-class youths are led to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment. Adolescents who form delinquent subcultures, we suggest, have internalized an emphasis upon conventional goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downward, they experience intense frustration; the exploration of nonconformist alternatives may be the result (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p. 86).

This variation on the Mertonian model of structural sources of deviance (1939) offered two basic approaches to social reform: the stratification of aspirations, or the rejection of what Merton called the democratization of values; and the opening of legitimate opportunity structures (most notably via education, employment, and residence). Because a rejection of the "democratization of values" would be politically disastrous, it was decided that programs would be developed to change the rate of access of lower-class youth to legitimate opportunities, and in the process "solve" what were considered to be direct (e.g., under education and employment) and indirect (e.g., delinquency) consequences of blocked opportunity.

If we were to define the disadvantaged from this culturally relative position, we would say that they are those youth who have heavy liabilities which lessen their chances for competing successfully with their fellow citizens in all phases of life. Disadvantaged youth may be found living with their families in a world where day-to-day survival takes all their thoughts and energies. Keeping a roof over their heads and getting food and clothing pose daily problems. Many American youth are disadvantaged from birth because they are of a minority race and must make their way in a society still riddled with discrimination. Other youth are severely disadvantaged because of a physical environment which isolates them from opportunities for education and social experience in keeping with the requirements of modern life. These are the youth of city ghettos, of migrant farmworkers, or of played-out rural areas.

Many disadvantaged tend to be members of a transient society. They make frequent moves within a city and often to other cities and regions. This results in not really belonging to a local community, interruptions in education, and lack of access to, and knowledge of, desired social agencies. Many of the new registrants

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in local employment service or welfare offices are in-migrants. Lack of medical care, lack of proper training, and conditions of poverty often result in uncorrected physical and mental handicaps. Many appear to have mental disorders, but may be pseudoretardates or cultural retardates who appear to be retarded because of conditions which have prevented them from developing mentally.

Characteristics of Disadvantaged Youth

From these limiting experiences some very obvious characteristics seem to apply to a substantial number of such youth:

Potential. They may function below their potential due to various deficiencies or because they do not know of the various employment opportunities to which they could aspire. They may have such low self-esteem that it is difficult for them to see themselves as able to acquire or hold jobs for which they are otherwise capable. They may even be reluctant to train for better jobs in the belief that they will find nothing open to them.

Interpersonal Relationships. They may be socially undeveloped, act impulsively, and have difficulty getting along with coworkers and employers. They may not understand how to accept supervision, to develop and learn under it, or to tolerate any implied criticism. They may be irresponsible, and lacking in middle-class standards of reliability. They may not show up on time for interviews, may be late for work, or may not show up at all for several days. Punctuality is often not expected or practiced in their home environments. Some may be bitter and disillusioned, with hidden or obvious hostility. Others will have a sense of powerlessness in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Others will compensate with an overaggressive manner, but more will be inarticulate and withdrawn from adults.

Educational Deficiency. A major and most obvious characteristic is a pattern of educational deficiency. A youth may even be a high school graduate and still lack the ability to read or comprehend basic English, or to handle figures competently. This may be frustrating to him and bewildering to his parents. For many parents believe that no matter how much a child is disadvantaged, if he once gets to school and manages to stay there, he can expect automatically to make his way when grown and to rise economically and socially above his early environment. Various studies have shown that the parents of the disadvantaged, in both city and country, may place a high value on education for their children, though they themselves are largely undereducated. Yet, in spite of this respect for education per se, a majority of these parents cannot or do not give their children adequate support and encouragement either to attend school regularly or to study at home. This lack of family support places an extraordinary responsibility on the school system. Yet these youth generally go to schools which have the poorest facilities, the most crowded classrooms, and overburdened teaching staffs. When these youth enter the labor market, the lifetime tradition of disadvantage is continued, and their deprived background is manifested in their unemployability (Amos, 1964).

The success of efforts to develop reform programs based on this model has been negligible at best. The Coleman Report, the Westinghouse—Ohio University evaluation of Head Start, and the Job Corps evaluation have documented the failure of our efforts to translate this model directly into effective service systems. For example, today there are over one million youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one out of school and out of work. There are approximately 350,000 more that are in school but looking for part-time work. In addition, there are between 500,000 and one million who are not only out of school and out of work but are not even in our statistics. They simply exist around the fringes of society and might well be called the "young retired." Furthermore, the direct research on the model during the 1960s raised serious questions concerning its adequacy.

Evaluation of Blocked Opportunity Theory

As Klein (1971) has recently observed, the Cloward and Ohlin rendition of the blocked opportunity theory has been the most tested of all major theories on both minor and major scales. The work of Short and Strodtbeck (1965) certainly stands, along with Klein's, as the most comprehensive and rigorous attempt to subject this model to an evaluation. At each major point, we observe gross inadequacies in the Cloward and Ohlin model.

The Existence of Three Types of Subcultures. Short and Strodtbeck found no evidence for the postulation of criminalistic, conflict, and retreatist subcultures. This lack of evidence has also been observed by Cohen (1966).

The Process of Normative Alienation. Cloward and Ohlin suggested that the perception of opportunity blocking as "external" (i.e., not related to abilities of the subject) would lead to rejection of socially approved means to goal acquisition. Elliott (1962), Gordon (1965), and Empey (1969) have demonstrated that the gang delinquent in fact *does* internalize prescriptive norms.

The Perception of Opportunity. There has been little consistent evidence relating class differentials in the perception of degree of access to legitimate means and delinquency. In fact, there appears to be little relationship between class position and relative perception of legitimate means availability (Elliott, 1962).

Other sociological models for the behavioral problems (Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958) of lower-class youth have proven to be equally irrelevant to the explanation of the deviance of lower-class youths. In summary, as Klein has observed: "Many of the theoretical statements about gangs currently so widely accepted as fact are nothing of the sort. Rather they are undemonstrated, undemonstrable, or actually demonstrated to be in error" (1971, p. 28).

If, as now seems more clear, these models grossly oversimplify the conditions of disadvantaged youth and the consequences in terms of deviance of these conditions, and if, as we are, also aware that the translation of even these simple models was grossly mismanaged (e.g., Moynihan, 1969), we should not be surprised by our relative failure to achieve "maximum feasible amelioration."

This is not merely to arrive at the banal conclusion that the causes of social conditions are "complex," and that more research is needed. At this point, conceptions of the disadvantaged are so limited by the theoretical models in which we attempt to organize "relevant data" (and thus disregard or fail to find "irrelevant" data); and the reliance on ideological commitments rather than the results of recent research is so great, that we find little direction for future research in existing models. Instead, we seem compelled to suggest a suspension in theorizing until we have a better representation of what we are trying to explain and change. In the remainder of this chapter, we will provide what we think are some clues to a better understanding of the problems of the lower-class disadvantaged youth. We do not intend to repeat the various descriptions and characteristics of disadvantaged youth that fill the literature. We feel that at this time it is more important to discuss factors which influence efforts to understand and work with such young people, than to add to the demographic description of the disadvantaged (Kohrs, 1968).

CRIMINAL OR DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

It is important to note that a persistent problem characteristic of disadvantaged youth is their involvement in criminal behavior. While we have come to realize that law violation among youth is a fairly general phenomena (studies of hidden delinquency), the overrepresentation of lower-class youth in labeled criminal behavior continues, with the problem for disadvantaged nonwhite being most acute. In terms of arrest rates, nonwhite rates are generally eight to ten times greater than whites, controlling for age, for all serious offense categories (Turk, 1969). This reflects class distributional differences between these racial categories; and, when class controls are introduced, the differences become significantly reduced. It is usually observed that the highest rates of delinquent behavior are to be found among lower-class blacks, followed by lower-class whites; however, the variation between classes is usually greater than the variation between races at the same class level. The important focus, then, in considering the delinquency of the disadvantaged is the class dimension.

In recent years a new pattern of youthful criminality has been imposed on this traditional finding: *the increase in violent crime.* It has been recently reported (Block and Zimring, 1971) that the rate of murder among the younger age categories has increased by as much as 700 percent in the last ten years, with the increase occurring mostly in stranger to stranger, cross-racial homicides. Wellford (forthcoming) has also observed significant increases in the age-specific rate of violent crime during the period 1958-1970 for the age categories fifteen to twenty-one. Thus, violent crime, though still a minor part of the crime problem, is increasingly becoming a behavior of youth and, most frequently, disadvantaged youth. This condition, as well as the more traditional one of high rates of official crime in this segment of the population, offers a continuing significant challenge and impetus to our ability to respond to the disadvantaged.

SOME CRITICAL ISSUES

The disadvantaged adolescent of today is not the disadvantaged adolescent of yesterday. He may or may not look the same, but he does not speak, react, or perform in the same manner. We are primarily speaking of the urban black youth. However, the points that we hope to make have meaning for all races and nationalities.

Hostility and Hate

A presidential commission in recent years pointed out that white racism was a principal factor in the racial problems of this country. We are sure that this is true. We are also sure that black racism has, or will, become an equal partner. The racial hatred in many major urban areas, as exhibited by blacks, has not only precluded those areas from becoming a part of the larger

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society but has forced many of the social agencies in the areas to close, or to function at a bare minimum of efficiency. The schools, industry, manpower, and welfare programs all have become bastions of racial hatred. In many instances this hatred is veiled with such descriptions as self-pride, black awareness, black power, etc. Such a climate makes it almost impossible to develop programs to prepare young people to enter a society that is beginning to open its doors to all people. This atmosphere of black racism is nationwide, and we see little being undertaken to combat it. Black leaders, for the most part, will not speak against it, for it is political or administrative suicide. White liberals support it either for political reasons or personal feelings. Everyone condemns white racism, but few condemn black racism. Let us hope both black *and* white racism can be eliminated before the country completely separates or meets in the streets.

Black Separatism

As far as the current authors are concerned, integration of races and cultures is perhaps the only long-term hope in our society. We do not base this on a moral consideration (although this country since its beginnings has been a "melting pot" and has been strengthened by this mixture), but on an economic consideration. From a practical standpoint, how can blacks with limited financial recources, inadequate proportions of administrative and technical skills, and constant conflict within their own ranks, hope to separate physically and economically from this society? Such preaching may sound exciting and enticing to a ghetto youth; but, after the romance is over, what has he learned or acquired in the way of skills and attitudes that will allow him to find a rewarding position in the marketplace? In a speech to the Annual Convention of the NAACP, Dr. Wilson Riles observed that it was self-defeating to teach black kids black English. He went on to say that what disadvantaged children need is training in basic English, not in "black nonsense." Such searches for identity only tell the youngster that he is not capable of competing and that success can come only when he is in competition with his own kind. What could be more harmful to a child's concept of himself and of the world?

Educational Conflict

William Raspberry, a young black columnist for the *Washington Post,* recently wrote (1971) an article entitled, "Can Slum Pupils Be Educated?" In his discussion he made the following statement:

> Is there something about life in big-city slums that renders most slum children incapable of academic success?
>
> No one in a position of educational authority is willing to answer yes. Nor does anyone seem to have sufficient factual data to support an unequivocal no.*

Those who have worked in an educational or training setting with such children have perhaps on various occasions wondered the same thing. We have seen the pattern of a slum child entering the first grade with little noticeable intellectual difference between himself and other children. By the time he has reached grade three, he is a year behind; by grade six, two years; and by age sixteen, he drops out, about three years behind. This same pattern is found with mountain whites, reservation Indians, and other "ghetto groups."

From our experiences, the one outstanding identifiable element is the child's inability to read. Educators have known for some years that progressive educational development is based on the ability to read at the appropriate grade level. We have also seen the high correlation between behavior problems and delinquency and the inability to read. Kenneth Clark has proposed that the *Washington, D.C., school system make a concentrated effort to overcome* the problem by giving extra emphasis to reading and arithmetic for at least one year. Opposition to this plan has so far kept it from being implemented.

In our opinion, more could be done to aid the disadvantaged by a nationwide, intensive, reading program in schools having a high number of disadvantaged youth. This is not to be interpreted as a panacea. We realize that it has limitations, but in our judgment it has more merit than does any other single program of which we are aware. It would hopefully do more to provide a meaningful base to understand and work with disadvantaged youth than does any other current program.

Work

The confusion between the dignity of work and dignified work has become a major issue when understanding or working with disadvantaged youth. The dignity of all work and the merit in doing a good job has become a minor point of emphasis in counseling youth

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**Washington Post,* April 22, 1971, A19. Used by permission.

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of all socioeconomic levels today (see chapter by Hackman and Davis on vocational counseling).

We feel that the efforts for overcoming racial stereotypes and providing motivation for upward mobility are among the most important elements in counseling disadvantaged youth. However, we also feel that in many cases, absolutely unrealistic views of work and requirements for job success have been offered. Many youngsters who are school dropouts, with limited job skills or experience, expect to be placed well up the occupational ladder. But they may not be equipped with attitudes or goals that allow for vocational improvement and maturation. Even if they are, if rapid promotion is not forthcoming the only excuse the youth may offer is racial prejudice on the part of the supervisor. There is very little self-analysis or insight, and the climate of their environment supports their interpretation.

For several years, one of the current authors was Chief of the Division of Youth Employment Services in the U.S. Department of Labor. One of the real problems noted in the various youth employment or training projects for the disadvantaged was their unrealistic interpretation of what it takes to succeed on a job. "Any white youngster was promoted only because he was white and every black kid failed only because he was black."

We can well understand the basis for these feelings after years of rejection, actual discrimination, inadequate educational systems, and, in many instances, family disorganization. However, understanding these feelings *and* using them as a blanket excuse are two different things. Many people today equate understanding with excusing. In working with the disadvantaged, we do not need to provide them with excuses, but with hope, encouragement, the opportunity for success, and the realization that they, as unique persons, can produce and succeed. It is about time that we stopped equating the problems of the disadvantaged youth with what happened three hundred years ago. Let us equate them with today, and the opportunities and resources of today. Granted that opportunities and resources are not currently adequate for the social ills that our country faces, but they are more adequate than ever before, and all indications are that they will continue to improve.

RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISADVANTAGED

Our previous comments raise certain issues that we feel have been neglected in recent discussions of the disadvantaged. Now we will turn to a review of some characteristics that have been stressed in the recent literature on the disadvantaged.

Lack of Motivation

It has been commonly accepted that minority youth are lazy, that they lack motivation. This, of course, is a generalization which would be as true of youth at all social levels, not just disadvantaged youth. However, from our observation in recent years, we see a positive pattern developing. Many such young people have a new concept of themselves and the world about them, and this is reflected in their behavior. The experiences of the past have conditioned many youngsters to feel that they cannot succeed, that a person of their color or race has no hope of success--so why try? The overwhelming repression of poverty has each day provided added proof that they will live and die as their parents did. We feel that in a few short years a rather remarkable change has occurred. From our conversations with youth workers around the country, there comes an optimism that a change is beginning to take place. Some youngers from the poverty culture seem to have more hope, motivation, and an improved self-concept. Whether this is the beginning of a major transformation we do not know, for it is too early to tell, but it is a hopeful sign. One must note, however, that this positive sign is clearly related to the black separatism movement discussed earlier. The balance between these themes will be a major problem confronting social policy makers in the near future.

Lack of Long-Term Goals

One of the more negative effects of poverty is that it precludes adequate "models" with whom young people may identify and from whom they may pattern their behavior. In our opinion this has been a major reason why so many youngsters from the poverty culture have been unable to plan for the future and hold long-term goals. Of course, the pressures of day-to-day living also preclude relying on future rewards.

However, we again sense a change. It may be related to the various opportunities that have been provided in recent years, particularly in the educational and manpower areas. It may also relate to the considerable number of minority group members who are more visible in the programs and institutions that affect their lives. Whatever the reasons are, there seem to be an increased number of young people from the poverty and ghetto cultures who are developing and holding long-term plans and goals for the future.

Interestingly enough, there seems to be something of a switch in black-white youth groups. More affluent white youth seem to be dropping out and rejecting long-term goals of the past, and more minority youth seem to be picking them up. More black youth are getting involved in the system and using their energies in bringing about constructive change. It seems that many such youth have seen what involvement can do and sense that, at last, they have a chance to be a part of society. The next step, of course, is planning for the future and the development of longer-term goals.

Mental Health

Many authorities have long felt that the rates of mental illness are higher in poverty areas. The incidences of psychoses, drug addiction, and alcoholism are not only more visible but also seem to be more prevalent. We may say, on the one hand, that much of the behavior which is interpreted as being irrational is very rational in the ghetto setting where the pressures of life are so overwhelming. It becomes negative behavior only when compared to behavior and values outside the ghetto. On the other hand, there is a great need for positive mental health efforts in poverty areas. When one relates good mental health to fully functioning or self-actualized people, then the great discrepancy can be seen. Not "fully functioning" does not mean that persons are mentally ill, but it does mean that their mental health needs improvement in relationship to self-understanding and day-to-day living.

Middle-Class Values

In recent years, the middle class and the values of the middle class have become the accepted cause of most of the ills of our society. The stereotype of materialism, competition, and lack of sensitivity that has been hung around the neck of "Middle-Class America" has been used to explain why the disadvantaged were "frozen out of the marketplace" and why society's interpretation of ghetto life was so biased, prejudiced, and wrong. It has been said often and forceably that the values of the middle class have no meaning for disadvantaged youth and that it is inappropriate to use them in any way. This is not entirely true. Any person who has worked intimately with such young people knows that the values they strive for and that many even assimilate at the present time are values that have to be called middle-class. Some of the strongest defenders of such values are the persons who are products of the ghetto who have risen to middle-class status. They not only believe and accept these values but they also reject many of the persons they have left behind because they have not embraced these values.

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Many deprived youth have moved beyond the middle class in their values on clothes, cars, status, and other ego tools. They may "make out" with any available female, but when picking one for marriage or other long-term relationship, we have seen the same values (e.g., chastity) as attributed to the middle class dominate their behavior. The lower socio-economic levels of society have long emphasized education as a status symbol beyond what many middle-class patrons have done. This same overemphasis can be seen in religion, home buying, and the search for status.

We are not saying that disadvantaged youth should be judged or understood from a frame of reference dictated by middle-class values. We are saying that these values have merit in working with such youth; that these values are not *all* useless and improper in understanding the disadvantaged, and that many youngsters from poverty cultures strive for such values and honor them. It is so easy to stereotype all people from a given culture and forget that people are unique and that values are reflected in behavior.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

If the "War on Poverty" and related social service programs have not had the desired impact, why not? From the senior author's extensive involvement in these programs, the following observations seem pertinent:

A Morass of Programs

There were and are simply too many programs and too few capable staff in too many agencies. The Departments of Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Interior; Agriculture; and, the Office of Economic Opportunity are glutted with offices and programs designed to provide services to the same people. Bureaucratic defensiveness, uncoordinated repetition, and just plain administration allow the agency to grow with little impact on the individual client. As new programs are founded, staff are lured away from other programs by higher salaries; and it is not unusual to see a person at a meeting representing one agency when at a previous meeting he represented another. So, a very average person steadily rises in the professional world, and eventually his limited creativeness, ability, and insight will seriously limit the effectiveness of some program. Old government workers never die; they just transfer to another program.

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Limited Factual Knowledge

That many programs are based on assumptions which are simply not true is common knowledge. We are the first to admit that the poor quality of research which has been flowing from the various universities and other institutions in the past ten years has not really provided the answer to many of the major questions concerning disadvantaged youth. However, we must note that much of the effort in the 1960s was politically motivated and failed to allow for effective participation by qualified social scientists in policy-making efforts.

Theories of Personality Development and Their Impact

In recent years, the academic community has also been concerned with the frames of reference that we use in training youth workers and related personnel. We have particularly been concerned with what theories of personality seem to work in relationship to services provided to the disadvantaged. In fact, it has reached the point in some instances that a particular theory is necessary if your grant or program is to be approved. We have identified three broad areas which may be listed as the psychoanalytic school, the self school, and the neobehavioristic school. For a number of years, the psychoanalytic schools were the principal framework upon which the helping disciplines were built. The schools of social work were influenced by analytical thinking, and, of course, this carried over into the other disciplines such as psychology, guidance, and counseling in schools of education. The reader may turn to the chapter by Beller for an extensive discussion of theories as they relate to the adolescent.

In the last two decades, the self-theories have gained considerable respect, particularly with those who are serving the more disadvantaged client. The works of Rogers, Maslow, and others have given us the understanding with which we can assist in bringing about changes in how a person sees himself and his world.

Also in recent years the neobehavioristic theories have come to the front. A significant number of programs that were funded under the Manpower Development and Training Act were programs that had their philosophical base in behaviorism. The lesson that we have to draw from this might be summed up in this way: "If your particular theory of personality is not popular today, simply wait a few years and it will be." We have overemphasized specific schools of thought to such a degree that we have forgotten that positive impact on people is usually the impact which occurs as a result of the relationship between the counselor and

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the client, and not because of the philosophical frame of reference that is used. What research we have shows that approximately two-thirds of those persons counseled benefit from the counseling regardless of the theoretical framework, if any, that the counselor was using (Amos and Williams, 1971).

We feel that the above observations are critical for any understanding of program development for the disadvantaged. Without capable supervisory staff, a factual philosophical base and good administration, an army of bright, involved people will have little impact.

FUTURE RESEARCH ISSUES

The past decade has often been referred to as the "decade of understanding." The urge to understand has become the rallying cry of the antipoverty efforts. As a result, one has the feeling that it has become more important to understand than to develop effective preventive and remedial programs. In fact, an explanation has become an excuse, and, as a result, good programs have fallen in the crack somewhere between explanations and excuses. So what we have are many programs, great quantities of exhausted funds, and many disillusioned people--this includes the disadvantaged and their helpers.

It seems to us that what has come out of the efforts of the last ten years has been to show actually, how little we know about how to deal with the massive urban ills that we face in our society. Contrary to some, our opinion is that the behavioral sciences have been given an "unleashed" life in recent years. Never in history have the funds been available for research and consultation that were available during the 1960s, and, we might add, with so little positive results. It seems that the questions of real importance in understanding and working with disadvantaged youth have not been answered or even attacked. Unfortunately, there does not even seem to be a willingness to make the effort. Because of the nature of the problem, most of the issues have a negative flavor. Regardless of their flavor, or how unpalatable they may be to certain groups and philosophies, they must be studied and answered. The few meaningful efforts to approach these issues have been made by private groups with very small and very selective samplings for the most part. We feel that cooperative national backing is necessary to find answers that will guide the large comprehensive national programs; will be professionally acceptable to all groups and races; and will have the funds and staff to do the necessary long-term and in-depth studies required. Of course, the various national societies and professional organizations which have expertise or interest in the areas concerned should be partners in the effort. Because of the controversial nature of many of the studies, the most respected and competent people available should be involved.

Areas of Major Concern

Research efforts should be focused on investigating such perplexing areas and questions as these:

The Evaluation of Social Agencies. Given the relative failure of public service agencies to provide significant services to the disadvantaged, we must continue studies of these agencies. Their contribution to the perpetuation of the problems that they are established to alleviate must be determined. Furthermore, we must explore ways to make these agencies more accessible to public evaluation and control, particularly by those who are the recipients of services. The analysis of the changing of service delivery systems may be the most fruitful in improving our ability to affect the conditions of the disadvantaged.

Age and Learning. At what age can a disadvantaged child's environment be stimulated most effectively? Most educators agree that age six is too late to start remedial programs to create an environment more conducive to intellectual development. We need to know more about the quality and quantity of both staff and experiences that are most effective. We feel that this is one of the more promising areas for helping disadvantaged youth escape the effects of a limiting environment.

Stabilization of Family Life. How can the family life of many disadvantaged children be stabilized so that the experiences, support, and guidance so necessary for human development can occur? In the years since the Moynihan Report, it has not been popular to see this area as one of major concern, and yet the evidence continues to mount supporting the notion that family coping behavior is extremely varied among the disadvantaged. How unfortunate. Until this major social undertaking can be materially effected, then the causes of limited intelligence, behavior problems, delinquency, and other social ills will not be attacked effectively.

Race and Intelligence. This issue is one that has constantly been before the public, in some form, for many years. It has such political and emotional implications that it is almost impossible to discuss it even in professional circles. Even though many authorities will agree that there are a number of unanswered (and unasked) questions concerning race and intelligence, any individual or group that proposes studying the issue is branded racist. This is unfortunate.

In recent years, however, a number of scientists of international reputation have been willing to speak out and propose that long-range research be conducted. One such proposal was before the National Academy of Sciences. This resulted from the recommendation of an eight-man committee, led by Dr. Kingsley Davis, who had been given the charge of making a recommendation. The committee had been established as a result of the urgings of Dr. William Shockley. The Academy rejected the recommendation but unfortunately did nothing to resolve or clarify the issues. More recently, Hans J. Eysenck, in *Race, Intelligence and Education* (1971), has reopened the issue. One cannot dismiss men like Jensen (1969), Shockley (1971), and Eysenck as racists or opportunists. The argument boils down to one point--you have to know what the problem is before you can provide a remedy.

We hope in the near future that resources will be made available to study this major issue in depth, and that a racial climate will develop which will permit scientific research of such importance to be conducted.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have attempted to provide a description and analysis of the lower-class youth, not by reviewing or reanalyzing the many demographic descriptions of this segment of our society, but rather by trying to identify some critical issues that we have observed emerging in the last few years. This personalized analysis reflects the problem areas that we suggest researchers and practitioners must acknowledge and confront in order to extend our ability to ameliorate the conditions of the disadvantaged.

Our analysis has led us to focus on three categories of factors affecting the disadvantaged: the theoretical model underlying our efforts to reduce the number in disadvantaged condition; the agencies that have attempted to translate this model into action programs; and the characteristics of the disadvantaged that we see as most important, or, neglected. We have suggested that the model, while ideologically useful, has not been able to explain the data developed by research prompted by the model. The agencies that have been evaluated have consistently been characterized as failing in their accomplishment of primary goals. The numbers of disadvantaged have increased, become more difficult to reach and work with, and have become justifiably hostile toward a society that promises social change but perpetuates structural inequality. The re-emergence of intense public concern with the disadvantaged must be preceded, we suggest, by an examination of the most basic conditions (the structure of change agencies and the psychological and sociological conditions of the disadvantaged) before we can hope to move to more effective programs for the amelioration of this problem.

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DISADVANTAGED--AND WHAT ELSE?

by

Fritz Redl

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"DISADVANTAGED" --AND WHAT ELSE?

When I began to consider my topic, "disadvantaged--and what else?" I was especially eager to focus on the "what else." But then it became obvious that the "what else" would be so long and involved that there was no hope of covering even part of it in a brief discussion. So please forgive me if this proves to be a sequence of odd comments rather than an orderly, well-organized, and "research-sounding" discussion.

First, a few "irritational statements," purposely overstated a bit, to make you a little uneasy, excited, angry--and interested.

IRRITATIONAL STATEMENT NUMBER 1

I don't like the term "disadvantaged." I think it has an awful odor, to phrase it politely. However, we are stuck with it, and most other labels smell no sweeter, but at least we ought to remember each time we use it--or its relatives--that we should look twice to be sure we know what we are talking about or what others mean when using the term. For nothing is more tempting than a new label to cover our ignorance or to hide the fact that we may be referring to widely differing conditions. "Disadvantaged" means little without something added.

DISADVANTAGED--IN TERMS OF WHAT?

You, in all likelihood, do not have everything you want or need. But does that mean you are "disadvantaged" in every respect? Don't we limit our use to such people as the youngster who is not doing well in a specific learning or character development that we are supposed to support? May not the same "environmental conditions" that make him disadvantaged in these respects actually hold advantages valuable to his later life tasks, even though they may not show right now?

One year, in a camp for disturbed children, I had reason to be especially grateful to one youngster--let me call him "David" (his real name)--who was a rather rough customer. When I caught on to some of his special talents, I was green with envy. For, although he wasn't good in school matters--in fact, he couldn't read--he had some skills that it would take a year of intensive work in a seminar for young psychiatrists to approximate. To be even franker, he had some skills that I couldn't match at all, with all my years of training and experience and just plain age in my favor. One day I found David rifling through my filing cabinet. Under the letter "C" he had pulled out a bottle of cognac kept there for purely medicinal purposes, of course, and was about to take a slug from it. I grabbed it away from him and said, "Listen, brother, this isn't coke!" His answer: "Can I help it if I can't read?"

This kid's real skill, though, in spite of his retardedness in matters of schooling, lay in the direction of uncanny diagnostic and even prognostic know-how. This became apparent during one of the episodes one is bound to run into when one gathers a bunch of thieves to run a camp for. For a week, flashlights had been disappearing, and, even though our staff was pretty good at sleuthing by that time, we never could find out what happened to them. After a while we caught on to their system. If an older kid swiped a flashlight, he would go over to the younger boys' "village," pick out a kid from among those playing around in front of their cabin, and say, "Listen, little boy, want to play with my flashlight for a few days?" And, of course, the little boy, being quite aware of what he was in for, would say, "Oh, sure." As nobody was searching there, the stolen loot would be quite safe until it could be retrieved from the "temporary loan" arrangement without risk.

Now, luckily, David and his accomplices sooner or later were also bound to make a diagnostic mistake, which is how we caught on to the whole thing.

What bothered me, however, and even more now, was the question, just how do they know which kid to pick so they will be safe? David did not know these younger kids, and the turnover that year was considerable. I had all their case histories, and with all the stuff in them and the tests I could not have done so well. So I asked him. His answer made me mad, for he said, "Oh, you just know those things." That is exactly what we do in professional situations when we can't explain something.

So I decided I couldn't let him get out of it that easily and took him down to the little boys' village and challenged him, "Okay, show me how." I pointed to a group of kids playing around the cabin. True enough, he pointed at one without much hesitation. I said, "But why this one; why not that one over there?" This made *him* mad. He said: "But, Fritz, you must be crazy. That one you pointed at would never do. He wouldn't be safe at all!" Now I was really eager to get the details on that diagnosis. And I got it: "Fritz, if I would pick that one, you know what would happen? Of course he will say yes, on account he is scared. Of course he won't blab, on account he knows what would happen to him. But then, one of these days there will be a thunderstorm, and the kids will come home late from a rained-out overnight or something. And the counselor will sit on his bunk to read a story. The kid will feel kind of cozy and good because he likes her. What will happen? He will fiddle around with his flashlight, he will drop it, and then the counselor will suddenly wonder where it came from, because it wasn't in his laundry check, and she will ask him how he got it, and he won't say, but she will know, and I will be in the soup!"

Brother, what a fantastic prediction! How did he know! Not only what the youngster's characteristics were--that I could also find out from his case history, his Rorschach and what have you, and the pile of psychiatric evaluations I had in my green files. How did he know which character trait would melt under the impact of a specific experience and, if the resolution not to blab melted, what specific form it would take, namely an "unconscious slip" type of betrayal? Remember, David had not read Freud--I can prove that; he couldn't read.

Now, if that is what he could do, then I say: David was disadvantaged all right, in many ways, but this does not mean that everything in his life had operated to his disadvantage. Unfortunately, he wasn't advantaged enough to be able to make positive use of his unusual skill, except in battle-relevant areas. He was not able to translate into constructive forms his skill at casing the joint and casing the personnel, his close-to genius level of diagnostic and prognostic skill. By the way, even if he had been able or willing to do so, there was no market value for this type of psychiatric expertise at his age level and where he lived. However, and this is why I bother you with this story to begin with, it does raise a point: If we say "disadvantaged" and if we insist that a given "setting" in which a kid operates and grows up is inappropriate, we had better pause for a moment, become more specific, and also ponder just what potential *advantage* it may contain, which, if we only know how to discover and build on it, may become an asset rather than a hindrance in a kid's life.

DISADVANTAGED--ON WHAT BASIS?

The term "disadvantaged" needs a second addition. Here, I am afraid, we sometimes take our own professional frame of reference too much for granted. For instance, if we are sociologists or anthropologists, we are rather sure we know what "disadvantaged" means. Yet, no matter how well based in general research our interpretation of the sociological or anthropological meaning of "disadvantaged" may be, how do we know whether or not all this has anything to do with the specific issue we confront in a given youngster?

I remember a kid who had a learning problem. The visiting teacher had tried hard to be helpful. The boy was also emotionally disturbed, but, in spite of this, the teacher had done well as far as the youngster himself was concerned. She had gotten "through" to him all right, and theoretically there should have been no reason why this boy could not be helped.

Yet the case was hopeless. For this kid was disadvantaged not only for the reasons you suspect after my introduction but also for an additional reason: He had a father who was a blustering fool and a conceited sadist. Now never mind how his father got that way. I am as ready to "understand" that as you are. In a case like this, the fact is, however, that the kid is now stuck with his old man, and we are stuck with both. The result is that nobody who tries whatever remedies may seem advisable can get anywhere. Even if we could find a place where the kid can be treated, the money to take care of costs, and so forth, when the teacher came to consult the father, he would refuse even to talk with her. For he knows it all; he knows "schools are hostile, and the hell with them, and what do silly people like teachers know to begin with?" and so forth. I am sure you know the line. In fact, although mercilessly cruel to his child in cases of misdeeds, he defended him against anybody outside who might criticize.

In short, the point of this crudely abbreviated description is that such a child is "disadvantaged" but not only in the basis of an economically, socially, or culturally inappropriate environment. He is disadvantaged on the basis of a characterological accident in his family: His father is a blustering fool and a conceited sadist.

Now this variable is highly independent of sociological or subcultural milieus. To put it differently, we produce the same type of characterological miscreation in any setting, not only in the so-called "underprivileged" ones. Details and forms of parental behavior will vary of course. When we encounter the same basic situation, for instance, high in the "upper mobile" class, in a family that has just moved into a fancier neighborhood because that goes with the professional promotion and the need to live in appropriate high-society circles, the same style of father would not consider the school "hostile." Rather, he would be more angry at the kid than at the school because the kid had embarrassed the family in its social prestige. He would ward off a teacher who might dare to suggest "treatment" with equal anger, but his anger would be based on the hurt dignity implied in such a suggestion. "Who are you, an underpaid employee of the school system, to suggest that a member of our fine family is emotionally sick? And, by the way, if you talk about silly fads and frills like clinics and such in our community, you are probably subversive anyway, and we had better call the board of education about it, for we don't want that kind of talk in our fine community."

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What I am trying to convey is this: If we talk about a kid being "disadvantaged," we should remember that the basis on which we make such a statement may transcend the variables usually associated with this term. Even when many items in a particular environmental setting may suggest anything but the term "disadvantaged," other issues like characterological properties of important figures in a child's life or other "accidents" like death in the family may be equally crucial. In short, whenever we use a term like "disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived," let's remember that we have a rather hot terminological potato in our hand, and let's not become too complacent,even though at first sight the variables we happen to be able to isolate look logically clean and sociologically respectable.

IRRITATIONAL STATEMENT NUMBER 2

Let's watch out for the return of the obsolete. Nothing is more dangerous when we suddenly find a "new interest" emerging and being implemented than to forget what we have learned the hard way. In a new situation we may make the same mistakes that it took us years to get rid of in the old one. Each time, for instance, that a new science develops, it usually goes this way. It may take us twenty to thirty years to rediscover what everybody already knew. Just one illustration may firm up this point.

When "group therapy" started to become popular and began to be taken seriously even in more rigorous professional circles, we returned to a state of naivete we had long abandoned in the field of individual treatment. We lulled ourselves into the idea that it would be a cheaper and easier shortcut because the well known and bothersome phenomenon of "resistance" could be ignored. The "group" was naively expected, for a while, to do it all so much more easily.

It took a few decades until we realized that the old issue is still with us, that the complexity of "resistance phenomena" cannot be forgotten. The forms they take in group leadership are different from those in the "therapy room," but we are stuck with meeting them and with finding new ways to do so. There is no return to the obsolete concept of therapy without the complex technology of dealing with "resistance" phenomena.

There are three types of concepts regarding the "disadvantaged child" that I think are definitely obsolete but that seem to sneak back into practice under the pressure of contemporary fashions.

OBSOLETE MODEL 1910

By this I mean a model that I consider *sociologically naive.* The chronological date, by the way, is rather willful and should not be taken too literally. I am talking about the time when one thought the misbehavior in children was simply the result of moral turpitude or of disease. Never mind the specific styles of the environment, factors of social class and caste, or any of the "subcultural mores" issues of which sociologists and anthropologists have since made us so aware. At that time, for instance, it was hard to convey the idea that some "hyperaggressive" youngsters did not need to be "analyzed" because their behavior was not primarily a clinical issue but had to do with the value-standard discrepancy between their neighborhood mores and the middle-class morality of their classrooms. Now, by the way, this way of thinking is totally gone. I wish sociologists and anthropologists were aware of how completely successful they really have been in puncturing social and cultural naivete in the healing professions! I do not know a single psychoanalyst, for instance, who does not know all the things that sociologists are so eager to publicize. In fact, sociologists have been so successful that I find many of my younger psychiatry students not even aware that the emphasis they are getting on "socioeconomic and subcultural data" in their case-history writing was not originally part of psychiatric lore but has been introduced through infiltration from sociological and anthropological research! By the way, I still find people in sociological and anthropological ranks who seem unaware of the educational success of their sciences, so this should provide a "happy ending" for them. In short, what I am trying to say is this: There seems to me no danger that Obsolete Model 1910 is likely to return, for even those who took their time in modernizing don't remember the old pattern.

OBSOLETE MODEL 1940

By this term I mean a model I consider *clinically naive*. Again, my chronological figure is only crude and not meant too literally. But there was a trend accompanying the blissful ascendance of anthropology and sociology to assume that tracing environment and culture involved in disorganization or disease was all that was needed. Of that obsolete model I say two things.

First, of course, all the factors isolated are important, but that is not always all there is to it. After all is said and looked at from that angle, there remains a *difference between sickness and health*, at least from a certain point on. If people think that, just because somebody has developed fantastic delusions or a paranoid system of thought, he can become a medicine man in a primitive tribe, that somebody is very much mistaken. Even though it is true that, up to a point, what in a given society would be considered schizophrenic fantasy might be considered legitimate religious belief or lore in another, this only reaches that far. Beyond that point, even in the same society or culture, some guys would be considered plain screwy and would never make it as medicine men.

Second, even when we come closer to our topic, some of this needs to be remembered. In work with children, for instance, I find we still sometimes try to smuggle in the obsolete concept of the "cleanly sociological delinquent," whose only difference from everybody else is that he has absorbed a delinquent value system as a legacy from his environment, instead of a neatly middle-class one.

Unfortunately, I haven't yet found such a kid. Maybe that is my fault, but I have a suspicion that this pure case does not exist. For even children in a tough and delinquent neighborhood *live under a double standard*. Those who work with such kids will remember how often we find this neatly demonstrated. Remember the cases in which members of a tough older gang have somebody's younger brother trailing around with them? He certainly is exposed to a lot that doesn't fit his age, but there invariably comes a cut-off point. His older brother will object, "Shut up, you can't say that in front of my little brother; he ain't old enough for that yet." For somewhere along the line, there are rather clear dividing points between what goes for a kid and what goes for an adult. Even the parents, by the way, who in their own lives may be liberal with tough talk or actually train their kids to steal, don't want them to swipe within the bosom of the family and won't "take that kind of talk" from them until they are "old enough" for it.

In short, even children in reasonably clear-cut delinquent subcultures are expected to develop guilt feelings, embarrassments, and concerns, producing anxieties not visible on the behavioral surface. Psychiatrically, this often makes for a very complicated diagnostic problem. For all practical purposes, some of our swaggering toughies look just like the real McCoy. Some of them, at closer inspection, and after you shave off some of the tough defenses a bit, turn out to have nice clean neuroses buried under their delinquent skins. They are just as nice and value-conflict-conditioned as any we used to make so efficiently in the upper classes in Vienna at the turn of the century. But where they live they can't afford it, so they have to put a heavy layer of the opposite over it for disguise.

I am afraid I discover a certain illusory hope in much of the recent discussion about "disadvantaged youth" that we can return to this over-simplified and seemingly pure sociological model and save ourselves the complications of clinical work and therapeutic implementation.

OBSOLETE MODEL 1966

This one worries me most, for it looks as though it were new, but it is already obsolete even before we flood the market with it. It is, in my opinion based on a phenomenon that, out of politeness, I am willing to call *implementational naivete.*

It, in turn, appears on two levels. At level I, we sometimes show a lack of recognition for the specialized knowledge, training, experience, and skill that a given job requires in changing a kid, a group, or a neighborhood. We usually admit how complex our own sciences are, be they anthropology, sociology, psychiatry, education, or whatnot. But we have a tendency *to consider complex essentials of our neighbor fields expendable or even silly luxuries.* For instance, why should we need trained people: Can't any bum cured by Alchoholic Anonymous who happens to smell of the same flophouse other people come from be used as a therapist, with the additional advantage of being "one of them"? Now there is no question about the importance of a certain amount of familiarity with class differences, with the body odor of different neighborhood styles, and so forth. Also, there is no question that the ability to translate oneself into somebody else's value and style domain is essential and has limits beyond which we cannot go. There is also no question in my mind that the judicious use of volunteers on all levels could be increased. However, any such increase also requires an *increase in implementation with trained staff, supervisory time, well-screened work situations, and so forth,* in our field as well as in any other. I am afraid I hear in some recent statements a note of nostalgia for the obsolete idea that an increase in volunteers would "solve the problem" and that our sister disciplines' standards can easily be done away with as an urgent compromise. Such a return to this type of obsolete model of services would, in my opinion, have most disastrous results.

On the second level I mean by "implementation naivete" the lack of essential conditions for doing a specific job. Under conditions I include size of staff, space arrangements, tools needed, and time available for work and communication among the workers, beyond the usual concept of "environmental" factors.

In physical medicine we are more realistic about this. If you want to take an appendix out, there are certain conditions that have to be guaranteed or else. You can't say: "After all, let's not be fussy. The charwoman is friendly; let her help with this or that. You can't have everything, can you? And you don't have to wash all that stuff in expensive antiseptics. After all, do you think money grows on trees?" Doctors have enough guts to say: "Listen, that's what it needs. It costs that much to get it; there is no way around. Or else we could not expect the operation to succeed."

Unfortunately, in the tasks I am likely to undertake, I cannot count on so much financial realism. If it comes to reforming kids or changing neighborhoods, we frequently are not courageous enough to speak up loudly for what we need. If, for instance, we set up a classroom for emotionally disturbed children--and I have recently been through this many times--we know by now what is needed and what a successful design requires for implementation. Yet we find ourselves continually confronted with the suggestion, "Let's just put some kids together, and never mind whether their disturbances click or not." Children who don't fit elsewhere get dumped into the same pot, even though the natures of their problems may be as different as foot disease from scarlet fever. On top of that, I am invariably hit with the argument, "We haven't enough teachers, and of course a visiting teacher is just a naive fad and frill." The teacher they have doesn't even have time to go to the john until 3:30, to say nothing of her need to keep records, communicate with other teachers, talk with parents, and so forth. Yet we have the cheek to call such designs "classrooms for emotionally disturbed children." I think this is an obsolete model of special services that, unfortunately, even professionals frequently don't have the guts to yell about. And professionals of "other professions" frequently watch this kind of disaster without raising their voices, for after all, the problem is no skin off their specialties' noses.

Now all this is obviously disastrous. If you really want to do something that is effective for the children you call "disadvantaged," no matter what caste or class or neighborhood they breathe in, you must recognize that obsolete models of whatever sort have to be fought against with more vigor than does the disease itself. *Psychological reality is as real and unrelenting as is the reality of the gadget world.*

We finally arrive at the topic of the day: "disadvantaged--and what else," and I should start talking about three issues: What else should we know about children to change things and to communicate with them? What techniques do we have to develop in order to do the job? What designs do we need, and which ones do we have to create beyond those now known in order to do our jobs?

Unfortunately, this is obviously more than I can possibly manage even to list properly in the remaining space. So let me switch instead to something different, though related, an issue I should like to get you worked up about. Unfortunately, I have to give it a fancy name, for it is an issue all too frequently swept under the rug, and I must mark it with some kind of headline, or it will get too long to unfold.

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THE SECONDARY CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY ACTION RELEVANCE

This concept really is very simple, but with all its simplicity--or perhaps because of it?--it is one of the most sorely neglected problems I could list.

Let's assume somebody has a beautifully classic anxiety neurosis as we made them in the upper social crust of Freud's Vienna. We don't produce many today. Our kids are much too disobedient to pick a classical symptom. They mix their syndromes from all over the map, hopelessly ignoring our psychiatric textbook prescriptions. However, let's assume we have found a pure one, say a boy in China. Let's also assume that this boy somehow gets together with an expert psychoanalyst who has been longing in vain for just such an affliction. Let's assume there are no financial handicaps to prevent doing what is obviously duck soup. We know all about this affliction and how to handle it; all it takes is time and money, and we have both. But our neurotic boy talks only Chinese, whereas the therapist knows only English. See what I mean? The linguistic barrier is obviously entirely irrelevant clinically, yet it blocks the child's therapy as much as if he had come with an unknown disease!

This example is a bit oversimplified. Let's move to one somewhat closer to our concern: I have a kid who finally, in tenth grade, gets interested, motivated, and eager to change. He was a no-good delinquent bum before I got hold of him. It took a year to move him to the point at which he stopped hating me and is ready to give me a chance to become a change agent in his life. In short, he is with me and wants what I want him to grow into. Yet it so happens he can't read. Even with all my therapeutic conceit, I don't think whatever I do with him will be enough, unless somebody helps me take that hurdle. He reminds me painfully of a classroom observation I made years ago.

> Twelve kids were in a classroom with a nice young girl supposed to bring them up in reading skills. It was the craziest assortment you could think of. Here was one little girl, in the front row, looking like seven but probably nine, with blond braids, and looking like the kind of kid with "prince and princess"-type daydreams of the preschool age. In the row behind her were three really rough and tough customers, about thirteen or fourteen, though one looked eighteen. Each time they put their hands in their pockets dice fell out. You know what I mean.
>
> The teacher had language material "on their reading and comprehension level." It was the story of the princess and the pea. Our blond little girl listened with rapt attention. She obviously was eating it up. The three lugs at first were wide-eyed with incredulity and then of course gave up. That anybody

> should have such a dermatological affliction that one little pea (watch the spelling, by the way, I wasn't so sure they got that right either) buried under twenty eiderdown mattresses would produce a rash was more than they could find appealing. Besides, why should they worry about peas and eiderdown mattresses? Two of them slept on the same couch, and one of them was a bedwetter. There were only two beds in the whole family to begin with. Besides, if that kid is so sick, why the hell don't she go to a school-nurse to begin with?

The point I am trying to make is that, if I can't find well-implemented remedial reading services for the youngster I started this story with, all my therapeutic skill will remain wasted. His reading problem is not part of the clinical syndrome for which he came into therapy, but it may become an unmanageable block unless the program is implemented by designs appropriate to reading. A cured delinquent who cannot read can hardly find the gratifications that would induce him to stay on the straight and narrow path that leads to middle-class and job respectability for his adult existence.

One more illustration before I start on my list: Let us assume I have youngsters with anxiety states, and there are plenty of them, hidden or not hidden. Yet, for some reason, the youngsters I am now considering have no ability at all to talk about any of their problems to a guy in an office too far away from the original scenes of their lives. In short, although they have the type of disturbance we know how to treat or counsel in an interview situation, they cannot fit our usual interview design. Talking about what happened last Friday on next Wednesday at 3 P.M. is totally useless. It makes no sense to them; there are no revivable memory traces of last Friday's experience left. Besides, talking to people who seem like artifacts in their lives is unbearable to them; it makes no sense, and they won't have any of it. So, while you can drag them there, you cannot make them "relate."

The fact is that most of our "therapeutic or counseling-interview situations" have been designed on a model that was first developed for the psychoanalysis of children with rather special types of neurosis and personality structure. For them it is ideal; it has to be sharply separated from their ordinary lives. The therapist's role has to avoid anything that could smack too much of teacher or parent roles. He must be free from any need to interfere in behavior beyond a certain unavoidable minimum, so that a clean "transference neurosis" can blossom into therapeutically usable forms.

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It so happens that the kids I am now referring to are different. Although the anxiety states for which they need treatment are practically identical, other parts of their personalities, especially their so-called "egos" are allergic to the usual treatment milieu. They need interviewing in high proximity to the settings in which the symptoms bother them most, in close time proximity to the events themselves, and by people who are perceived by them as part of their usual "life space." This allergy to our usual interview design and the ability to use only life-space interview patterns are not part of their diseases nor are they likely to be caught in the usual diagnostic work-up procedures. Clinically speaking, they are of *primary* importance. Never mind how well equipped you are to understand or treat anxiety states in such children; you can't get at them unless you can produce the high life-space proximity-of-treatment design. In short, inaccessibility to a specific mode of therapy in itself, although not part of the disease to be treated, may be of primary relevance when it comes to the question, Who can be changed and by what process?

Now, at last, a few illustrations for the long list of secondary characteristics in kids who need help, which may become of primary treatment or action relevance.

SUPERCHARGING REALITY-GEARED ISSUES WITH OVERDOSES OF SYMBOLIC VALENCE

Yes, you are right, this does sound funny and fancy. However, it is really quite simple. Simple to understand, I mean. Handling it is another chore!

DEVELOPMENTAL-PHASE PRESTIGE

Sometimes, for a kid, the haircut he has, the pants he wears, the language he uses, or the question of whether or not he carries a specific gadget like a knife, cigarette, or whatnot may assume a valence way beyond anything we would expect and totally out of line with reality. You try to tell him he can't bring or wear this or that in school, a perfectly reasonable request, which by the way, he doesn't really question at all. However, just watch the reaction you get. The reason for this overreaction: The issue packs more than we expect; it is *symbolic of something else*. What the kid reacts to is not the issue, only the symbolic valence it has assumed in his own life. Symbolic of what? In this case, not even of anything fancy way down deep in the unconscious. Just of the issue of having left behind a certain phase of early childhood and being now engaged in adolescence. The behavior of the adult toward him has become symbolic of the amount of "emancipation" from infancy a youngster has reached or the degree to which we seem to deny it. So what started as a harmless demand by the adult suddenly seems to have loads of TNT packed into it, because for the kid it has become an issue of finding his emancipation questioned or challenged. "I am not a baby any more; you can't treat me like that," seems to be what he is trying to say.

This issue is especially important to remember for those of us who work in the trenches of daily behavioral warfare with children in classrooms, clubs, groups, institutions--and we had better remember that any issue, no matter how simple it may seem to us, may for a given kid suddenly assume this overdose of symbolic valence.

By the way, this issue seems highly independent of the much-quoted issues of socioeconomic or subcultural factors. Just *what* it is that kids are so allergic to is certainly codefined by the social milieus in which they grow. The question, however, *whether* or not a given kid will pack so much symbolic valence into a given situation has nothing to do with sociology or anthropology. It is not found only in the so-called "lower-lower disadvantaged" areas; you find it just as much in the so-called "upper-upper" socioeconomic strata. It is a function of childhood history and much else, not of psychosocial locus.

SOCIAL-LOYALTY ISSUES

Sometimes youngsters react to situations, not in terms of what they really hold, but in terms of what they seem to imply regarding the group the youngsters come from. To illustrate: Anybody may remember kids coming back to an institution after a runaway or because they have just been brought in by the police. They are miserable, cold, dirty, tired, bedraggled. The first person they meet is a big-bosomed, motherly matron, who is full of love and pity, eager to engulf them in an affectionate embrace, and as a gesture of kindness she offers them a shower or a bath. "Come on, sonny, it will make you feel better." For some of these kids this is about the worst insult you could inflict upon them. Far from even perceiving the good intention behind the offer, they see it as a symbol of hostility to them and their kind. "Of course she wants to scrub us, for she thinks we stink. Of course that bitch makes us wash; she don't like our folks either; she thinks we all stink. The hell with her, I want nothing to do with her any more, ever." In short, what started as a benign gesture ends up as a symbolic clash between two hostile camps.

By the way, these facts as such are well known. What we have trouble recognizing is the potential symbolic valence in a given moment of intervention in a child's life. Just remember how many such confusions on the basis of symbolic valence lead to tension in any class room any hour of the day, and we don't even smell what is going on, despite all the clever research and fancy books we read just before we meet the kids.

RELEASE OF SURPLUS AGGRESSION

A third type of "supercharging reality issues with an overdose of symbolic valence" seems to go in the direction of enormous quantities of surplus aggression released at even slight degrees of frustration or behavioral intervention on the part of adults.

To illustrate: Camps or institutions frequently consider depriving a youngster of dessert or sending him away from the table rather mild forms of punishment, especially when the over-all tone of the place is warm and friendly, the kids know they are liked, and their bellies are already stuffed with more sweets than is good for them. Yet, amazingly, even under such favorable conditions, we sometimes find that children react with totally irrational quantities of rage, panic, fury, or revenge. It seems that sometimes even relatively mild punishments or quite reasonable and unavoidable frustrations--like the request to stop playing and come to lunch--release in some of them emotional upsets certainly worthy of greater causes. Therefore, if you work with children who have some problems and are prone to "supercharge," regardless of background or neighborhood, it is important to learn their *special indexes of vulnerability to this item.* Although irrational in nature, it becomes a forcible issue for those responsible for the children's upbringing and care.

THE GANG UNDER THE COUCH

A second illustration of the point that clinically secondary issues sometimes assume primary importance when it comes to figuring out what to do with kids is even more peculiar. My title "The Gang Under the Couch" is, of course, only meant figuratively--and, by the way, I am not really thinking of a "couch" either. However, it may suffice as a caption for an issue too complex to squeeze into short space.

Here is what I have in mind. Sometimes you want to have an "interview" with a youngster, either as part of long-range therapy or in order to talk over with him an issue that has come up in his life. You think there are just the two of you in a room, the kid and you. Sometimes that is all there is to it, of course, but sometimes the physical pair really turns, psychologically speaking, into a very different situation. You have the whole "peer group" sitting in. For instance, your talk with the kid starts off on a friendly note. In a short while, you suddenly notice you get an amount of defiance, resistance, hostility, stubbornness, and denial, far beyond anything you had reason to expect. What do you conclude? Ordinarily, you assume that one of three things is messing it up for you: The kid doesn't like you personally or is mad at something you said or did. If you happen to be a psychiatrist, you assume that he is in a phase of "resistance to change." If you are a sociologist, you are likely to assume that probably your middle-class body odor bothered him.

Whatever it may be, and sometimes all three and several more assumptions may be correct, in the cases I am talking about none fits. What is really going on has little to do with you as a person or with the kid's relationship with you. What is really bothering our youngster is the fear of what his gang might think if it saw him now. He may like you and accept what you are trying to point out, but how can he possibly give in to an adult without a battle? He would be considered a potential traitor or fifth columnist in the eyes of his pals. Even if he is ready to "give" eventually, he must at least obey the unspoken "dueling code" that his peer group would expect him to uphold before surrender. The specific content of that "peer-group code" of brave behavior in an interview with an adult is, of course, different from group to group, from social or subcultural milieu to milieu, and so forth. But the phenomenon as such may become an important technical issue in work with kids on any level at all. I have had kids sit in my office at camp, with their stolen loot hanging right out of their pockets, with full awareness that nothing would happen to them if they told me what had happened, and even with perfectly "good" interpersonal relationships and well-established "role trust" between them and me. Yet they would rather die than come through with the real story, without making me jump through the whole gamut of their subgroup's dueling code first. They still would insist: "Honest to God, Fritz, I swear on a stack of Bibles, I wasn't even there, I ain't done nothing." Yet they knew I knew, and both the kids and I were quite comfortable with the eventual outcome. But how could they go back to their group and live with it--and with themselves--if they had "given in" without first making me fight hard for their surrender?

This one, too, is not a function of social caste and class--only the specific content of a given code may be. It does not hit us only in work with kids from the so-called "disadvantaged areas." I meet it with kids from way up on the social ladder, kids of parents with a lot of dough, powerful and willing enough to fix any ticket for them. Here they sit, in Mr. Psychiatrist's office, basically miserable and in obvious need of help. Yet they would rather die than accept a treatment relationship.

They have to maintain, in the eyes of their peer groups, the image that "my old man only makes me come, for otherwise he would take my car away from me." It may take you months before you get them out of it. In fact, for practical purposes you might as well have the peer group sit right in that room. It couldn't be much more difficult to handle, and maybe you could get some of the other customers on your side in the meantime. It is important to remember that this type of "resistance" is not what we usually assume. It is not the kid's resistance to you or to change but his desperate battle to maintain a group image he cannot afford to lose. It is really a group-psychological phenomenon, even if it happens in a room with just the two of you in it.

RESEXUALIZATION OF OTHERWISE SEX-DETACHED FORMS OF EXCITEMENT

As you know that I am a Freudian, you would expect me to bring sex in somewhere anyway. So why not save you the trouble of trying to find out where I hid it and pick it up where it counts most in daily warfare with child behavior? This is what I have in mind with this rather complicated sounding title: For practical purposes and in the ordinary way of speaking, certain forms of "elation" and excitement in kids are really "nonsexual." They are quite "naive"; the kids themselves would be surprised and angry if you tied them up with sex. They just enjoy rolling on the floor, wrestling, tickling one another, playing hide-and-seek, packing into tight corners, chasing one another in tag games with increasing wildness quite visible to anybody who looks at it. In ordinary language, they are right; it is quite a "legitimate" enjoyment of physical contact, of bodily excitement, and of all that goes with it. Only just let it go on a little too long, and you will find that either it gets really closer to open sexual stimulation--where they grab each other now is quite below the usual requirements of a tag game--or, even if overt sexual behavior is missing, the degree of elated wildness that develops is more comparable to that of people in states of uncontrollable sexual excitement than that of kids involved in quiet and harmless play. If you ever have to interrupt such a scene, you will know what I mean; it is hard to calm them down, as if they were really in a clearly sex-excited elation. Unfortunately, some kids are especially vulnerable to this switch from normal play into "resexualized" forms of excitement. Worse even, their case histories contain no warnings. For they are not kids with sex problems at all; it only so happens that the elation and excitement of even harmless activities are likely to resexualize them into getting uncontrollably high. I find that in practical work with youngsters this is an especially important issue and that educators have a lot of trouble with it. Just because it is *not* obviously "sexual" in the usual meaning of the term, the adult dislikes interfering in "harmless body-contact pleasure," and may let it go beyond the point of easy return to normal. As many kids who are not sex problems at all are prone to this type of "resexualized state of overexcitement," we are likely to miss the point. Besides, it is not only kids with "poor controls" who are likely to get into that state. I really am convinced that it is an independent variable. I have seen kids with very poor controls and plenty of obvious sex problems who are unaffected by this type of elation. I have run into kids with excellent controls and no overt sex problems at all, whose drifting into this type of "resexualized elation" constitutes an enormous hazard. For the parent, teacher, or child-care worker, it is important to recognize this transition of normal and harmless fun into more orgiastic wildness and to learn how to intervene before it gets too messy. Unfortunately, neither sociologists, anthropologists, nor psychiatrists have so far given us the kind of research that would be helpful in this task.

SLAVERY UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE "DARE"

This phenomenon is well-enough known. Under some conditions--details are too long a story for the remaining space--and, of course, especially under some situations with a lot of "group-psychological excitement"" in them, kids are likely to display nearly slavish dependence on anybody who "dares" them. And, even more important to remember: Once in the grip of the "dare psychology," even the nicest and otherwise most reasonable and self-controlled kids are likely to do the most stupid, dangerous, silly, or even mean and nasty things. In short, the "dare" situation throws some kids into the same state of disorganization that we otherwise find only in drunkenness and mob psychology. Historically, we know the phenomenon well from the German fraternity of the late nineteenth century and its dueling code. If somebody wants a fight, all he has to do is to go up to you and "dare you" in some form or other. From then on, the course of events cannot be changed; you have to pick up the "dare," or you are dishonored forever after, even if your or anybody else's career or life is wrecked. When I came to this country I was naive enough to think I would never again have to witness this type of mental disease. How wrong I was! Our kid cultures somehow have developed a very similar type of "dare" and "dueling code"; only the form varies from subculture to subculture. By the way, the general idea that this is true only in more or less delinquent circles is all wrong. In fact, I have found some rather obviously delinquent kids who had developed high degrees of immunity to this dare psychology. They knew how to set it off, but they were by no means helpless when exposed to it themselves. Yet, probably to all our surprise, I could show you loads of very nice kids with

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excellent self-control, reasonable, well-intentioned, with good super-egos and well-identified with the values we cherish, who, the moment somebody "dares" them, are totally helpless. This, by the way, is one thing we ought to learn more about; for the question of whether or not it is safe for a youngster to go for a ride with a group of kids does not depend only on his own driving skill or on the kids he is with. It depends on his own inner resistance to situations that constitute open or unspoken "dares." This is a characterological variable in its own right, independent of many other issues, and it is highly unexplored!

Some youngsters, furthermore, have developed special skills in setting off this "dare psychology" in others and in retaining enough sense themselves to remain uninvolved, to vamoose from the scene before it gets too rough, and to leave others to act out to the bitter end what they have so skillfully engineered. For those of us who have to work with kids in groups, this is a most important "characteristic." I should like to know who is slavishly vulnerable to dares and in which situations and who has the uncanny skill to create "dare slavery" in others without being obvious about it.

It so happens that this "variable" or "characteristic" is obviously not a disease in its own right and therefore will hardly turn up on the list of psychiatric or other evaluations, nor will most case histories on kids we are supposed to help have any clear reference to it. Yet, although "secondary" in terms of educational or psychiatric assessment, it certainly becomes of primary relevance for anybody who has to decide what to do or is involved in the daily action scene with Junior. In fact, why do you always insist on telling me whether Johnny was or was not born with instruments or--if you are more sociologically inclined--the income level and status symbols of his neighborhood? True, I may want to know that too. But if you invite me to teach a class, run a playground or an institution, or plan for community change and prevention, I'd rather have you tell me first about the "dare" index.

In closing, and it hurts me to leave my list of "characteristics of primary action relevance" so dismally short, I should like to remind you of the two most important issues for projects you may plan in work with the "disadvantaged child or youth."

First, we must develop more courage to help people over "complexity shock" and see to it that we don't get stuck in it ourselves. There are some things that cannot be done cheaply, quickly, easily, without skill and trained staff and appropriate means. Whenever we know this to be so, we had better speak up.

Second, we must increase our sensitivity to what I should like to call "implementational stench." At the risk of being called "fools" and "eggheads" or of being considered "uncooperative" or "starry-eyed," we had better make our observations known whenever we run into projects, programs, or designs that are obviously miserably implemented, no matter how fine and worthy the basic ideas may originally have been. For work situations with children and communities that are not decently implemented stink. Period.

Excerpts from

"EFFECTS OF LABELING THE DRUG ABUSER"*

by

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THE LABELING PERSPECTIVE

The labeling perspective or labeling approach as Schur (1971) calls it has been referred to by many as a "labeling theory." In reality the labeling perspective is a particular application of the basic sociological perspective, which does not qualify as a "new theory." Furthermore, it lacks essential elements needed to give it the status of a theory (see Schur, 1971:34-36). Others have commented on this point (Simmons, 1965; Johnson, 1973b), but all agree that, theory or not, the perspective is a useful one (see Merton and Nisbet, 1971: 825-829; Schur, 1971).

The following statement is in the tradition of those early concerned with the issue (Tannenbaum, 1938; Lemert, 1951) and those more recently responsible for the revival of the position (Kitsuse, 1962; Becker, 1963).

> The labeling hypothesis maintains that being publicly identified as deviant results in a "spoiled" public identity. It contends that being labeled "deviant" results in a degree of social liability (i.e., exclusion from participation in certain conventional groups or activities) which would not occur if the deviance were not made a matter of public knowledge. It further suggests that the social liability incurred by being labeled "deviant" has the ultimate effects of reinforcing the deviance.
>
> (Foster, 1971; Foster, Dinitz
> and Reckless, 1972:202)

This view of the labeling phenomenon is commonly held among social scientists although it is more narrow in scope than the labeling perspective implies. The broader approach (Schur, 1969b; 312) involves positive as well as negative labeling (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Payne, 1973) and informal labeling as well as formal or official labeling (Whyte, 1955; 14-25; Berger, 1963:66-121; Antonio, 1973). In considering these additional dimensions of the labeling perspective it is somewhat easier to note the tie between the socialization process, role expectations, achieved and ascribed status and the labeling process (see, for example, Scott, 1969: 14-19; Mercer, 1973: 12-27). Before dealing with these issues, a major criticism leveled at the labeling approach will be briefly discussed in light of the broadened labeling perspective.

The major criticism of the labeling perspective (See Merton and Nisbet, 1971:826-829; Schur, 1971) questions the claim made by some that it is an approach which explains deviance in general. As several critics (Gibbs, 1966; Simmons, 1969; Denzin, 1970; Gove, 1970a; Gove, 1970b; Gibbs, 1972) have pointed out, labeling does not account for the genesis of deviant behavior or for deviant behavior which goes unapprehended. However, the broader labeling perspective utilizing informal and self-labeling can, in part, account for incipient deviant behavior. The informal labeling of predelinquents, lower class children, and black children, for example, may well spur them on to deviant behavior. Once involved in deviant behavior, these same persons may self-label and reinforce their deviant behavior pattern. Whether this indeed occurs is an unanswered empirical question, but it does suggest that the labeling perspective can deal with these issues. The broad labeling perspective then is a flexible approach tied to a basic sociological point of view.

What then is the relationship between the labeling perspective and those basic sociological concepts mentioned above? Essentially, labeling is the ascription of a status to a person (see, for example, Schur, 1969a: 115) or the achievement of a status (Mercer, 1973:27). Whether the status is ascribed or achieved may well depend on how one views the labeling situtation. For example, if the person labeled is viewed as being victimized by the label (Akers, 1968:463; Gove, 1970a:881-882) then the status is ascribed. If, on the other hand, the probelm is seen as lying with the person labeled, the status is achieved. Typically the labeling perspective has dealth with negative labeling and the person labeled has been viewed as a victim of society's casting him outside the pale (Becker, 1963).

With the assignment of a status goes a set of role expectations for behavior (see Merton, 1957:368-370; Loomis and Loomis, 1961:282-284). In various ways the labelers socialize the labelee into his label-status. After a time, if the socialization process is successful, the labelee has incorporated the role behavior demanded by the status into his behavior repertoire. Successful labeling, positive or negative, therefore is a basic process of socialization (see Scott, 1969:14-17; Mercer, 1973:21-23).

THE LABELING PROCESS AND SELF-CONCEPT

We not turn to the question of how the self-concept is involved in the labeling process. According to the symbolic interactionist perspective of Cooley (1964) and Mead (Strauss, 1964), the development of a self-concept is a product of interaction with others. Cooley talks about the "looking-glass self" (Cooley, 1964:184) in which a person imagines his appearance to another, imagines the other's judgment of that appearance, and has some self-feeling (pride or mortification) about that judgment. This view demonstrates how the shared rules of a group or society become internalized and thereby serve as an internal control for behavior in addition to the external controls of "other" reactions. For Mead, learning to take the role of the "other" permits one to interact successfully with others by understanding, anticipating, and appropriately responding to them. In this process of incorporating the "generalized other" the self comes to be defined in terms of others. As Goffman (1959) points out, one may choose to play his role with tongue-in-cheek, which he calls "role distance." In so doing the actor plays through the role with no involvement or identification with the role. In the process of identity or self-concept formation such calculated role playing is unlikely since the least stressful behavioral option is to incorporate the role expectations and to become what the expectations demand. This view is presented in a clear and interesting fashion by Berger (1963). In reply to the question of why we tend to cooperate with societal expectations rather than rebel against them, he says:

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> The sociological answer to this question has already been alluded to--because most of the time we ourselves desire just that which society expects of us. We want to obey the rules. We want the parts that society has assigned to us.
>
> (Berger, 1963:93)

He goes on to say:

> The role forms, shapes, patterns both action and actor. It is very difficult to pretend in this world. Normally, one becomes what one plays at.
>
> (Berger, 1963:98)

In the socialization process, learning rules for behavior, learning what others expect from you, learning how others respond to you, and learning how others feel combine to develop a concept of the self, an identity.

> Identities are socially bestowed. They must also be socially sustained, and fairly steadily so. One cannot be human all by oneself and, apparently, one cannot hold on to any particular identity all by oneself.
>
> (Berger, 1963:100)

The labeling process, as noted earlier, is the socialization to a particular status with its associated role expectations. We have also noted that from the symbolic interactionist perspective the formation of a self-concept is intimately tied to the socialization process. Therefore, the labeling of a person is highly likely to have some impact on his self-concept. And indeed, the self-concept is an important feature of the labeling perspective as it has been developed.

Tannenbaum (1938), in tracing through the process of how the adolescent involved in delinquent behavior is eventually labeled by the community, draws on the earlier work of W. I. Thomas (1928). Thomas presented the idea that social definitions of a situation were crucial to the behavior of the participants. From the definition of the situation came the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (see also Merton, 1957:421-434) which holds that if a situation is defined as real then the consequences of the definition are real. This all draws our attention to the importance of social definitions of reality. Tannenbaum described the conflict between the delinquent adolescent and the community as one of "two opposing definitions of the situation" (Tannenbaum, 1938:17)

> From the community's point of view, the individual who used to do bad and mischievous things has now become a bad and unredeemable human being. From the individual's point of view there has taken place a similar change. He has gone slowly from a sense of grievance and injustice,

> of being unduly mistreated and punished, to a recognition that the definition of him as a human being is different from that of other boys in his neighborhood, his school, street, community. This recognition on his part becomes a process of self-identification....
>
> (Tannenbaum, 1938:17)
> (Emphasis added)

He goes on to describe the trappings of official response to the boy's delinquent behavior which transform the boy into the delinquent.

> The first dramatization of the "evil" which separates the child out of his group for specialized treatment plays a greater role in making the criminal than perhaps any other experience.
>
> The process of making the criminal, therefore, is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of.
>
> The person becomes the thing he is described as being.
>
> (Tannenbaum, 1938:19-20)
> (Emphasis added)

Lemert (1951) draws a distinction between primary and secondary deviance while tracing personality changes correlated with the shift from primary to secondary deviance. In essence he is showing how societal reaction to deviant behavior encourages the individual to occupy the status of deviant and thereby to develop a concomitant self-concept, thus ensuring a deviant career or secondary deviance.

> However, if the deviant acts are repetitive and have a high visibility, and if there is a severe societal reaction, which, through a process of identification is incorporated as part of the "me" of the individual the probability is greatly increased that the integration of existing roles will be disrupted and that reorganization based upon a new role or roles will occur.... Reorganization may be the adoption of another normal role in which the tendencies previously defined as "pathological" are given a more acceptable social expression. The other general possibility is the assumption of a deviant role, if such exists; or more rarely, the person may organize an aberrant sect or group in which he creates a special role of his own.

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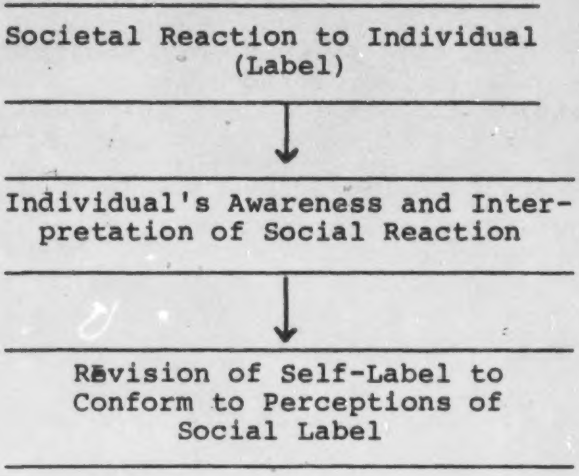
> When a person begins to employ his deviant behavior or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the consequent societal reaction to him, his deviation is secondary. Objective evidences of this change will be found in the symbolic appurtenances of the new role, in clothes, speech, posture, and mannerisms, which in some cases heighten social visibility, and which in some cases serve as symbolic cues to professionalization.
>
> (Lemert, 1951:75-76)

More recently, Wilkens (1965) employed a labeling perspective to his presentation of a deviation amplification model. One of the model's components is the self-concept of the "deviant." Briefly, certain acts are defined as deviant and the "parent system" excludes the actors by the process of definition. This provides the actors with an information set which enables them to begin to perceive themselves as deviants. It is important to note that at this point Wilkins comments, "Perhaps the main way in which any person gets to know what sort of person he is is through feedback from other persons." (Wilkins, 1965:92). Of course, this is precisely the position the symbolic interaction perspective takes. Wilkins continues:

> The action taken by society and the resulting self-perception of the individuals defined as deviant, lead to the isolation and alienation of the specified individuals.
>
> This provides the first part of a deviation amplifying system. The definition of society leads to the development of the self-perception as 'deviant' on the part of the 'outliers' (outlaws), and it is hardly to be expected that people who are excluded by a system will continue to regard themselves as part of it.
>
> The deviant groups will tend to develop their own values which may run counter to the values of the parent system, the system which defined them as 'outliers.'
>
> The increased deviance demonstrated by the deviant groups (resulting from the deviation-amplifying effect of the self-perception, which in turn may have derived from the defining acts of society) results in more forceful action by the conforming groups against the nonconformists.
>
> (Wilkins, 1965:92)

The feedback process from the definers to the deviants and back to the definers amplifies the self-perception of persons as deviants and thereby produces deviant behavior (see Hess, 1971).

the preceding works have exemplified the basic sociological perspective of labeling. Through the ascription or achievement of a particular status the individual may fulfill the role expectations of that status and thereby identify in terms of his self-concept with that status. Payne (1973) in his discussion of the creation of a deviant self-image presents the following useful diagram.


Societal Reaction to Individual (Label)
Individual's Awareness and Interpretation of Social Reaction
Revision of Self-Label to Conform to Perceptions of Social Label

(Payne, 1973:35)

Payne's introduction of the self-label serves two purposes for this discussion. First, it demonstrates the process of incorporation or internalization of deviant role expectations by the labeled status incumbent. Secondly, it brings to our attention again the possibility of self-labeling without societal reaction. The "internalized morality" of society or personal internal controls may be as efficient in labeling the individual as are external societal controls.

It is clear then that the labeling process is intimately involved in developing and altering self-concepts (for additional works see Scheff, 1966a; Klapp, 1968; Rubington and Weinberg, 1968; Lofland, 1969; Quinney, 1970; Fabrega and Manning, 1972). The extent to which self-concepts are affected by labeling will be explored next.

Unfortunately, little is empirically known about the impact of the labeling on the self-concept (see Freidson, 1965:74). However, the literature which comments on this and related issues provides some theoretical indication of how the self-concept and labeling interact.

The simplistic view of the labeling process holds that the label is applied and the person labeled responds according to the particular label. This view has been stated in an interesting way by Akers (1968).

> One sometimes gets the impression from reading this literature that people go about minding their own business, and then--'wham'--bad society comes along and slaps them with a stigmatized label. Forced into the role of deviant the individual has little choice but to be deviant. This is an exaggeration, of course, but such an image can be gained easily from an overemphasis on the impact of labeling.
>
> (Akers, 1968:463)

Akers is quite correct to warn us against overemphasizing the impact of labeling because the impact is bound to be variable.

> While such dramatized insults to identity and integrity cut deep for some, their impact varies and is absorbed or discounted by others.
>
> (Lemert, 1971:12)

Here Lemert is discussing the impact of a part of the labeling process, namely, juvenile court proceedings which have been described as a "degradation ritual" (Garfinkel, 1956).

The variability of labeling impact is also noted by Hyman, Stokes, and Strauss.

> Considering the sharp definition of their situation, the blind might also seem to be ideal witnesses for the advocates of labeling theory to call upon.
>
> The label has been applied to the blind, but oddly enough it often does not stick. When asked the direct question, 39 percent of the sample of blind children answered that they do not consider themselves blind. In the equivalent subgroup of adults in the sample (also blinded in early childhood or from birth and living in the same area of the country) who have had years and years of labeling, 37 percent reported that they do not regard themselves as blind. Such are the mysterious workings of the self. Thus studies of the blind suggest that, even when labeling is most flagrant, this psychic shaping of reality must be taken into account.
>
> (Hyman, Stokes, and Strauss, 1973:406)

Who accepts a label, who rejects a label, and why, is still not wholly understood.

RESISTING LABELING

We turn now to the consideration of four major categories of resisting the labeling process. They are socialization of norms, reference groups, techniques of neutralization, and the negotiation of reality.

The person who is socialized to a deviant mode of life views deviance as "normal." The normative definitions of deviance for the labeling social system are never internalized or shared by the "normal deviant" (see Bredemeier and Stephenson, 1962:126-128). Apprehending and labeling such a deviant will have little effect on him (see DeLamater, 1968:454). From his point of view it is the others who are the "deviants" and their labeling has little or no relevance for him.

The person in the preceding example is, no doubt, also supported by a deviant reference group. A reference group is any group one refers to or identifies with for definitions of the social situation (see Merton, 1957:225-386). Shoham (1970) indirectly comments on the effects of labeling and one's identification or lack of it with the labeling group by noting in another context that stigma as a means of social control is more effective when the gap between self-image and social image (that is, the labeling group's image or definition) is narrow and less effective when there is a wide gap between the self-image and the social image. The socialized deviant maintains contact with his deviant reference group and thereby neutralizes the effect of the labeling group. The more deeply a person is involved in sharing the norms and values of the labeling group, the more likely the labeling will have an effect on the person labeled. As Shoham hypothesizes, the more distant the relationship, the less the impact.

This point is supported by Dinitz, Dynes, and Clarke (1969:20) in their discussion of the stigmatization process on various types of deviants. They conclude that where societal response is protective toward the deviant, thus co-opting the deviant and reducing the gap between self and social images, labeling is quite successful and low self-esteem results. But, where society is punitive toward the deviant and the gap is widened, societal labeling and impact on self-esteem varies.

This point is also supported dramatically in an article by Reiss (1964) describing the homosexual behavior of lower class boys.

> The reactions of the larger society, in defining the behavior as homosexual is unimportant in their own self-definition. What is important to them is the reactions of their peers to violation of peer group norms which define roles in the peer-queer transaction.
>
> (Reiss, 1964:207)

Here the peer reference group successfully insulates the individual from the labeling of the larger society and thereby preserves his self-concept.

In some cases labeling of a deviant by the larger society, which does not serve as the deviant's reference group, is a rewarding experience.

> In such criminal subcultures and groups the stigmatized social pariahs may obtain a number of rewards: status and positive evaluation from peers, enhancing the offender's self-image....
>
> (Hills, 1971:52)

As Hills notes, not only does the deviant reference group assist the individual in resisting the labeling assault on his self-concept, but his self-concept is "enhanced" by the experience! In sum, the reference group can serve as a powerful neutralizer of the labeling process.

Sykes and Matza (1957) present five techniques for neutralizing labeling and thereby avoiding feelings that might contribute to a poorer self-concept. Three of the techniques are denial techniques--denial of responsibility, denial of injury, and denial of the victim. The offender attributes his behavior to forces beyond his control such as having a broken home or bad companions. In denial of injury the offender denies that anyone was harmed by his activity--he stole a car but who got hurt? And in the denial of the victim the offender might insist that the victim "had it coming to him" so that the victim has not been victimized but justly punished. The fourth technique of neutralization is called condemnation of the condemners where the offender uses the tactic that the best defense is a good offense and accuses his accusers of various wrongdoings. The final technique is called the appeal to high loyalty where the offender places his loyalty to friends or relatives above the demands of the law. Using these techniques the deviant "tends to develop a self-conception that allows him to admit his delinquencies to himself without damage to his self-esteem."

(Hartung, 1965:120)

While the above techniques of neutralization are described in the context of official sanctions, it should be noted that the danger of labeling to the self-concept does not only come from the officials of society, but, as mentioned earlier, from informal sources as well as from the self. These sources must be neutralized too, or the danger to the self-concept is just as great:

> Also, if the person cannot neutralize conventional norms and standards, he may label himself as a deviant; as a result, he will incur a negative self-evaluation and may perceive his primary relations as being disrupted.
>
> Such self-labelling may produce as much of a self-fulfilling prophecy as does labelling by society's agents.
>
> (DeLamater, 1968:454)

These neutralization techniques therefore permit the individual to resist the labeling process and to maintain their self-concept (see Schervish, 1973:51; Emerson, 1969:142-143 for a review of similar techniques).

Another defense against the impact of labeling on the self-concept is to negotiate the seriousness of the label with the label definers (see Scheff, 1968). Lorber (1967) notes that when a self-label does not agree with a given social label a person may negotiate a new label.

This does not neutralize the label assigned but modifies it and thereby minimizes changes in the self-concept. Another negotiating strategy is to give an "account" which allows others to excuse or understand the deviant behavior and which thereby preserves one's self-esteem (see Scott and Lyman, 1968). This strategy is much like some techniques of neutralization. Juveniles apprehended by the police are often able to negotiate labels based on their demeanor toward the police (Piliavin and Briar, 1964). The flippant, "fractious" or "nonchalant" youths are typically dealt with more severely than are the "contrite," "respectful," and slightly "fearful" youths who were successful in negotiating their "basically law abiding or at least 'salvageable'" labels (see also Emerson, 1969: 101-102).

We have seen that when a label is applied its impact on the labelee is not necessarily complete or final (see Schur, 1973:125-126). Various conditions mitigate the impact in addition to the several strategies available to the labelee. However, our knowledge about the impact of labeling is sparse and leaves much to be discovered.

THE EFFECT OF APPREHENSION

Gold (1970) and Gold and Williams (1969) provide data on the effect of apprehension on subsequent juvenile delinquent behavior. Gold (1970), in a study of detected and undetected delinquent behavior in a large Midwestern city, reported that when a group of adolescents apprehended by the police were matched with unapprehended adolescents sharing the same social and delinquent behavior characteristics, the apprehended group showed significantly more incidences of delinquent behavior subsequent to their apprehension than did their match group. Gold and Williams (1969) replicated the Gold study with matched pairs of juveniles from a national sample of adolescents. Their findings supported the Gold data and they concluded that "apprehension itself contributes to further delinquency" (Gold and Williams, 1969:10). The dynamics of why this relationship occurs are not explored by Gold and Williams. However, Gold (1970:108) suggests that perhaps the apprehended youth must continue his delinquent behavior or else risk being labeled "chicken" by his peers. Gold also suggests that the original motives for involvement in delinquent behavior might be untouched by the apprehension and that, therefore, the behavior continues. In this view it is reasonable to expect some of the unapprehended matches to share these motivations and to continue their behavior. Indeed, some did continue their delinquent behavior but not enough of them to view this explanation as the entire explanation. Gold offers the additional explanation that the apprehended juvenile may simply be angered and strike out with further delinquent behavior. The empirical explanation for increased deviance as the result of official labeling has yet to be given. However, these two studies clearly demonstrate that official apprehension often serves to increase subsequent deviant behavior.

The labeling perspective on this issue has been clearly stated by Duncan (1969)

> ...stigma resulting from being officially labeled as a "delinquent" increases the probability of a youth engaging in further delinquent behavior.
>
> This stigma acts to foster delinquent role enactment, isolates the youth from effective social control, cuts him off from many legitimate opportunities, and opens up illegitimate opportunities to him.
>
> (Duncan, 1969:41)

And Wheeler and Cottrell (1966) add to this perspective.

> If the labeling hypothesis is correct, official intervention may further define the youth as delinquent in the eyes of neighbors, family members, and peers, thus making it more difficult for him to resume conventional activities.
>
> (Wheeler and Cottrell, 1966:23)

However, Foster (1971) and Foster, Dinitz, and Reckless (1972) report that their study of apprehended boys found very few who perceived any difficulties in their interpersonal relationships with family or friends as the result of their official labeling. They therefore concluded that the social liability incurred by apprehension is over-estimated by the labeling perspective (Foster, Dinitz, and Reckless, 1972:208).

Despite the pros and cons of the issue there is much agreement (see, for example, Wheeler and Cottrell, 1966, Lemert, 1967b; Werthman, 1967; Schur, 1973) that official intervention in delinquent behavior often serves to propel the juvenile from primary deviance to secondary or career deviance (Lemert, 1951).

> There is a very important distinction between engaging in a delinquent *act* and following a delinquent *career* organized around the repetitive commission of such acts. Given the relatively minor, episodic, and perhaps situationally induced character of much delinquency, many who have engaged in minor forms of delinquency once or twice may grow out of this pattern of behavior as they move toward adulthood. For these, the labeling theorists argue, a concerted policy of doing nothing may be more helpful than active intervention, if the long-range goal is to reduce the probability of repetition of the acts.
>
> (Wheeler and Cottrell, 1966:23)

It has been noted that most delinquent behavior will, in time, "mature out" (Lemert, 1967b;94; Werthman, 1967:155; *Corrections*, 1973:248). Henley and Adams (1973:514) report that for the cohorts of college graduates they studied, the incidence and prevalence of marihuana use was increasing despite the increasing age of the graduates. But, for those graduates who were married and parents the marihuana use ceased. This cessation was presumably due to the "maturing" effect of marriage and parenthood responsibilities.

Because of the "maturing out" phenomenon attributed to delinquent behavior it has been suggested that these young offenders be dealt with by what Lemert calls "judicious nonintervention" (Lemert, 1967b:96; see also, *Corrections*, 1973:248; Schur, 1973). This does not mean adopting a *"do nothing"* posture but rather suggests steering the "doing" from the official agencies of society back to parents, neighbors, and the like. Problems should be dealt with on this level and the juvenile court should be "an agency of last resort for children, holding to a doctrine analogous to that of appeal courts which require that all other remedies be exhausted before a case will be considered" (Lemert, 1967b:96).

Despite the somewhat contradictory explanations for the impact of apprehension on the offender's subsequent behavior, there is evidence that increased deviant behavior often results. We now turn to a study which presents data on the relationship between apprehension and self-esteem.

Jensen (1972a), in a study of 2,589 black and white adolescent males, looked at the relationship between official delinquency (youths apprehended for delinquent behavior) and two self-concept measures--self-esteem and perception of self as delinquent. It should be noted that the self-concept measures were taken subsequent to the official apprehension of approximately 97% - 99% of the total of apprehended youths in the sample.

Jensen reports that the relationship between official delinquency and the evalution of the self as delinquent is stronger for whites than blacks in his sample. Among whites this relationship is weakened in the case of the middle and upper class youths and for those with delinquent companions. While the direction of the reported relationship is consistent for both races, the strength of relationship is weak.

> ... there is a persistent tendency for those who have been officially evaluated as delinquent to think of themselves and to feel thought of by others as delinquent, but this tendency was more characteristic of whites than blacks. In addition, the relationships among blacks and whites did tend to converge within certain subcategories either as a product of stronger relationships in some categories of blacks, weaker relationships in some categories of whites, or both. For example, among whites, the higher their class standing (in terms of father's educational attainment), the weaker the relationship between recorded delinquency and delinquent evaluations. This finding was consistent with Hewitt's ... contention that the lower-class delinquency "feeds upon official definitions" while middle class delinquents are insulated by "understanding" adults. However, this interpretation must be tempered with the recognition that blacks tend to be fairly well insulated (relative to whites) irrespective of class standing.
>
> Delinquent companions condition the consequences of official evaluations only among whites. Whites with several delinquent frieds exhibited a relationship virtually identical to the black adolescents in general. Some adolescents, then, may be "doubly insulated" by adults prepared to allow "mistakes" and peers involved in similar activities.
>
> In sume, the appoication of official labels appears least consequential among those who can readily rationalize their activities or who are insulated by "understanding" parents and peers.
>
> (Jensen, 1972a:139-140)

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Jensen notes that while the relationship between official delinquency and perception of self as delinquent differs for blacks and whites, the perception of self bears a weak negative relationship to self-esteem for both racial groups. Apparently, although a youth may accept the delinquent label, his self-esteem is largely unaffected. The relationship between official delinquency and self-esteem is even more remote.

> Given the magnitude of the relationships between official definitions and delinquent self-conceptions and between such conceptions and self-esteem we would not expect much of a relationship between official delinquency and self-esteem.
>
> (Jensen, 1972a:141)

So Jensen concludes --

> ... these data suggest that *contact with* official labelers has no significant consequences for feelings of personal worth for most subcategories of adolescents.
>
> Of all the subcategories in which the relation between official delinquency and self-esteem was examined, such official definitions made the greatest difference among middle-to-upper-status blacks but even there the relationship was weak (-.20, -.25). While insignificant, the positive relationship among lower-class blacks, leaves open the possibility that labels intended as stigmatic may have the opposite effect.
>
> (Jensen, 1972a:142)
> (Emphasis added)

Jensen's interpretation of a trend relationship suggests that, for at least one group, self-esteem may be slightly improved by official labeling.

In summarizing the findings of these studies, one could say that apprehension encourages increased delinquent behavior, is slightly related to the perception or increased perception of oneself as delinquent, and has no consequences for one's level of self-esteem. Since each study deals with a different effect of apprehension, the questions concerning the impact of apprehension and official labeling on the interaction effects (if any) of behavior and self-concept or its components remain unanswered by these data.

SELF-CONCEPT ANTECEDENT TO APPREHENSION

In the attempt to determine the impact of official labeling on the self-concept it is useful to know about the condition of the self-concept prior to the apprehension. Fitts and Hamner (1969) have stated the problem well.

> The question has often been raised as to whether the self concept causes behavior or results from behavior; whether delinquency results from an already existent inadequate self concept or whether the low self concept stems from society's reaction to the delinquent pattern of behavior. The question has been raised but not answered.
>
> (Fitts and Hammer, 1969:81)

While the main focus is on the self-concept antecedent to apprehension of official labeling, the informal and self-labeling processes should not be neglected. For example, Gemignani (1973) and Harris (1968) draw out attention to the phenomenon of predelinquent informal labeling which, in the formative years, may have a definite impact on the socialization-self-concept formation process. Fisher (1972:82) notes that public or official labeling "appears not to set in motion a process of differential treatment, rather it appears simply to reflect, and perhaps exacerbate, a process already ongoing."

In a longitudinal study done by Reckless and others at Ohio State it was determined that a good self-concept acted as an insulator against delinquent behavior (see Reckless, Dinitz, and Murray, 1956; Reckless, Dinitz and Kay, 1957; Reckless, Dinitz and Murray, 1957; Scarpitti, Murray, Dinitz, and Reckless, 1960; Dinitz, Scarpitti, and Reckless, 1962; Reckless, 1967; Reckless and Dinitz, 1967). Unfortunately, their measure of self-concept was found to be inadequate thus negating the conclusions drawn from their data (see Schwartz and Tangri, 1965; Tangri and Schwartz 1967; Orcutt, 1970; Schwartz and Stryker, 1970; and Jensen, 1972a).

Schwartz and Tangri (1965) essentially replicated the Reckless study but with a much improved self-concept measure. Their data are interpreted as supporting the Reckless contention that a positive self-concept insulates the "good" boy in a high delinquency area. In a later study reported by Schwartz and Stryker (1970) the data are less clear in their support of the Reckless position. The data were taken from a predominantly black school and for reasons that are unclear, racial comparisons produce an inconsistent picture. Self-concept for white boys in this situation apparently does not serve as an insulator against delinquency. It does appear, however, that the Reckless hypothesis is supported for black boys.

The evidence then for the self-concept as an insulator against deviant behavior is inconclusive and demonstrates the need for additional work in this area. Therefore, the condition of the self-concept antecedent to apprehension cannot be determined with any certainty from the preceding studies.

SELF-CONCEPT ANTECEDENT TO DRUG ABUSE

Next, the self-concept as an antecedent condition to drug abuse will be explored. Drug abuse, particularly drug addiction, has been treated in the literature, as Kaplan and Meyerowitz (1970) note, as stemming from a pathogenic environment. The general view is that the "negative" environment fosters a negative self-concept which in turn leads to drug abuse. It should be stressed that this view is derived mainly from data on the drug addict although it tends to be generalized to all drug abuse. The drug addict has been seen as suffering various sorts of personality disorders (see, for example, Ausubel, 1948; Chein, Gerard, Lee, and Rosenfeld, 1964) which imply a poor self-concept. Winick (1957:19-20) contends that there "appears to be no one kind of psychiatric diagnosis which is common to drug addicts" and that "all kinds of people can and do become drug addicts." While this statement would seem to allow for antecedent conditions to drug addiction other than pathological ones, Lindesmith (1965b) indicates this is not the prevailing position on the subject.

> An astonishing variety of terms have been employed in the attempt to characterize the addict, particular types of addicts, and the addiction-prone personality, usually with the assumption that the attribute named has some etiologic significance. From a small segment of the literature the following examples have been gleaned: "alienated," "frustrated," "passive psychopath," "aggressive psychopath," "emotionally unstable," "nomadic," "inebriate," "narcissistic," "dependent," "sociopath," "hedonistic," "childlike," "paranoid," "rebellious," "hostile," "infantile," "neurotic," "overattached to the mother," "retreatist," "cyclothymic," "constitutionally immoral," "hysterical," "neurasthenic," "hereditarily neuropathic," "weak character and will," "lack of moral sense," "self-indulgent," "introspective,""extroverted," "self-conscious," "motivational immaturity," "pseudo-psychopathic delinquent," and, finally, "essentially normal."

He goes on to say:

> It is of interest to observe that in this list opposite traits are sometimes mentioned; that most of the same terms are applied to other groups, such as alcoholics, prisoners, tramps,

> sex offenders, and thieves; that almost all these descriptions are based on observations of addicts in captivity or on secondhand reports of such observations; that many of the alleged attributes are clearly effects or integral aspects of addiction, rather than antecedents, and that all of them are poorly defined concepts, frequently used simply as expressions of disapproval. The multiplicity of these characterizations is scientifically embarrassing, and their number is increasing.
>
> (Lindesmith, 1965b:132)

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OVER FIFTY PLACES

(that deal with youth or provide information about youth or might otherwise be a resource)

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ORGANIZATIONS

The Volunteers of America
3801 Pitt Street
New Orleans, LA 70115
504/895-7791

Girl Scouts of America
830 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10029
212/PL1-6900

The Salvation Army
120 West 14th Street
New York, NY 10011
212/243-8700, x214

National Council of Negro Women
c/o Research and Action, Inc.
111 Fifth Avenue
212/473-2420

Americans for Indian Opportunity
600 2nd Street, SW
Albuquerque, NM 47807
505/842-0962

National Federation of Settlements
and Neighborhood Centers
232 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016
212/679-6110

National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs
1521 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
202/232-3600

Director of Resource Development
Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
220 Suburban Station Building
Philadelphia, PA 19103
215/567-2775

National Conference of Black Lawyers
126 W. 110th Street
New York, NY 10026
212/866-3501

National Coalition of Alternative Schools
c/o Alternative Schools Network
1105 W. Lawrence, Room 210
Chicago, IL 60840
312/728-4030

National Jewish Welfare Board
1012 14th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/347-1211

Boys Clubs of America
801 N. Fairfax, Room 206
Alexandria, VA 22314
703/548-0662

National League of Cities -
  Conference of Mayors
1620 I Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20006
202/293-2945

Community Mental Health Institute
2233 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Suite 322
Washington, D. C. 20007

National Child Labor Committee
145 E. 32nd Street
New York, NY 10016
212/683-4545

National Network or Runaways and Youth Services, Inc.
c/o Community Congress of San Diego
1172 Morena Blvd.
San Diego, CA 92110
714/275-1700

Boy Scouts of America
North Brunswick, NJ 08902
201/249-6000

Associate Specialist
Urban 4-H Youth Development
Cook College, Rutgers University
P. O. Box 231
New Brunswick, NJ 08902

Mexican American Legal Defense & Educational Fund
145 9th Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
415/864-6000

Indian Juvenile Code Program
University of New Mexico
Indian Law Center
1117 Stanford, NE
Albuquerque, NM 87131
505/277-4844

National Urban League
500 E. 62nd Street
New York, NY 10021
212/644-6570

National Association of Prevention Professionals
862 W. Roscoe, Suite 2
Chicago, ILLINOIS 60657

Girls Clubs of America
133 East 62nd Street
New York, NY 10021
212/832-7756

National Council of Jewish Women
15 E. 26th Street
New York, NY 10010
212/532-1740

Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
1740 Broadway
New York, NY 10019
212/581-0500

National Council of the YMCA
291 Broadway
New York, NY 10007
212/374-2148

National Federation of Youth Service Bureaus
P. O. Box 3763
Springfield, IL 62708
217/753-8300

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National Council on Crime and Delinquency
Continental Plaza, 411 Hackensack Avenue
Hackensack, NJ 07601
201/488-0400

Planned Parenhood Federation of America
New York, New York

National Association of Counties
1735 New York Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004
202/785-9577

National Council of Organizations
  for Children and Youth
1910 K Street, N.W., Suite 404
Washington, DC 20006
202/785-4180

United Way of America
801 N. Fairfax Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
703/836-7100

National Youth Alternatives Project
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 502
Washington, DC 20036
202/785-0764

National Governors' Conference
444 N. Capitol St.
Washington, DC 20001
202/624-5300

American Red Cross
18th and D Streets, NW
Washington, DC 20006
202/857-3752

National Alliance of Businessmen
1730 K Street, NW, Suite 558
Washington, DC 20006
202/254-7108

National Office for Social Responsibility
1901 N. Moore Street, Penthouse Suite
Arlington, VA 22209
703/558-4545

469

COSSMHO
1019 19th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/466-2260

National Association of School Administrator
1801 N. Moore Street
Arlington, VA 22209
703/528-1700

National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye Street, NW, Suite 210
Washington, DC 20006
202/659-1251

Children's Defense Fund
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/483-1470

The National Coalition for
Children's Justice
613 National Press Building
Washington, DC 20045
202/347-7319

Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
Suite 310, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/833-2850

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Publications, Clearinghouses & Information Services

	Example
National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism P. O. Box 2345 Rockville, MD 20852 301/948-4450	"Guide to Alcohol Programs for Youth" (Publication #(ADM) 77-437)
National Criminal Justice Reference Service P. O. Box 24036 Southwest Post Office Washington, DC 20024	"Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities" (#34497)
Office of Youth Development 200 Independence Avenue, SW Room 362-G Washington, DC 20201	"Catalogue of Federal Youth Programs"
General Services Administration National Archives & Records Service National Audio-Visual Center Washington, DC 20409	"Audio Visual Materials on Alcohol and Drugs: Information Pack C-006
NIDA Resource Center Rockwall Building 11400 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852 301/443-6614	"Predicting Adolescent Drug Abuse: A Review of Issues, Methods, and Correlates" Research Issues No. 11
Pyramid Project East: 4608 N. Park Ave. Chevy Chase, Md. West: 39 Quail Court Walnut Creek, Ca. 94596 (Sponsored by NIDA, Prevention Branch Division of Resource Development	"Prevention Resource Bulletin" and *Balancing Hand & Heart*

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Training Objectives

By the end of the course, each participant will be able to—

- define adolescence, according to personal understanding of the term as well as acceptable components of the course definition;
- identify at least four theorists described in the course and at least one contribution to the study of adolescence made by each;
- list at least four of Havighurst's ten developmental tasks;
- describe a youth program as it relates to at least one of the four themes of adolescence discussed in the course;
- define labeling and stereotyping;
- demonstrate self-awareness by listing at least three personal values and at least five personal stereotypes that affect one's relationships with youth;
- describe each of the elements of the prototype decision-making model discussed in the course;
- demonstrate understanding and integration of each of the course modules by assessing a case study presented by the trainer and by preparing and analyzing a personal case study based upon a recent work experience;
- develop a personal learning plan delineating at least one area in which further skill development is desired and at least two new resources for working with youth.

Trainer Qualifications

As a group, the AIS training team should reflect the following characteristics. Each member need not have all characteristics, but all members should have those characteristics that are marked by the asterisk. Trainer should have—

- *at least two years of experience in group dynamics and task-oriented training;
- *a personal investment in helping youth workers improve their skills and self understanding;
- experience working with youth in prevention or mental health settings, and sensitivity to current issues in working with youth;
- knowledge of developmental theory and adolescent development;
- the ability to conduct an assessment of a training population, and design and conduct an original three-hour module appropriate to the needs of that population.

Methodology

The course involves small-group and individual exercises, lectures and discussion, and case studies.

Materials

Trainer's Manual

Participant's Manual, including Personal Course Record and Resources

Film: "Everybody Rides the Carousel"

Scheduling

The course may be delivered in five consecutive days or module by module over an extended period of time. The course consists of eight modules. Modules I, II, III, IV, VII, and VIII are each approximately three and a half hours in length. Modules V and VI are each approximately seven hours in length.